Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-247
Wednesday
27 December 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-247 *27 December 1989*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CSSR Reacts to U.S. 'Intervention' in Panama 1
Foreign Ministry Issues Statement *[Bratislava Radio]* 1
Human Rights Group Voices Concern *[CTK]* 1
Commentary Condemns Intervention *[Nyvlt in RUDE PRAVO 21 Dec]* 1
Slovene LC Congress Condemns U.S. in Panama *[TANJUG]* 1

ALBANIA

Government Respects 'Rights of Romanian People' *[Tirana Radio]* 2
Refugees Albania Worse Than Ceausescu's Romania *[AFP]* 2
Stalin's 110th Birthday Anniversary Commemorated *[ATA]* 2

BULGARIA

'General Political Strike' Called for 28 Dec *[BTA]* 3
Reactions to Podkrepa Call for Strike *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Independent Podkrepa Federation's Declaration *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 24 Dec]* 3
Podkrepa Appeals for Immediate Changes *[BTA]* 4
Podkrepa Reaffirms Commitment to Declaration *[BTA]* 4
Politburo Decides on Dialogue With Groups *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Faction To Be Founded Within BCP on 12 Jan *[BTA]* 5
Control-Auditing Commission Personnel Changes *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Independent Association Founded in Vratsa *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Ecoglasnost Branch Founded in Kurdzhali *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Glasnost, Democracy Club News Conference *[BTA]* 6
Free Musicians Trade Union Founded in Yambol *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Independent Slavonic Association Founded *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Citizen Starts Hunger Strike at Parliament *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 15 Dec]* 6
Union Leadership Forces Change in Decision *[TRUD 8 Dec]* 6
Warning Strike at Sofia Bus Depot Noted *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 11 Dec]* 7
Lambrev Elected Head of Chamber of Commerce *[BTA]* 7
Zhivkov Grandson's Lavish Study Grant Queried *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 11 Dec]* 7
Daily Criticizes 14 Dec Parliament Protest *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 15 Dec]* 8
Minister Tanev's Report to National Assembly *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 16 Dec]* 8
Dimitur Tomov Posthumously Rehabilitated *[NARODNA ARMIYA 11 Dec]* 12
Gen Semerdzhiev Discusses Defense Panel *[NARODNA ARMIYA 11 Dec]* 12
New Decrees on Council Changes, Unemployed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 12 Dec]* 13
Mladenov, Atanasov Greet Romanian Leaders *[BTA]* 13
Red Cross Assistance to Romania Noted *[BTA]* 13

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Further Reportage on Romanian Events, Comments 14
Deputy Foreign Minister in Romania *[CTK]* 14
Revolt 'Justified' *[Dobrovolny in RUDE PRAVO 21 Dec]* 14
Calfa Interviewed on Talks With Gorbachev *[Prague Radio]* 14
Dienstbier: Accord on Soviet Presence 'Invalid' *[CTK]* 14
Dubcek Awarded 1989 Andrey Sakharov Prize *[CTK]* 15
Civic Forum-Solidarity Meeting at Border Reported *[Prague Radio]* 15

CSSR Removes Border Barriers With Austria *[CTK]* 15
CSSR, FRG Ministers Hold News Conference *[CTK]* 15
1st Day of CPCZ Congress Reported *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Dec]* 15
CTK Gives Adamec Biography 20
CTK Gives Mohorita Biography 20
Adamec, Mohorita Positions, Duties *[CTK]* 21
CPSL Congress Results Viewed *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Dec]* 21
Democratic Forum of Communists 'Dissatisfied' *[Prague TV]* 22
Federal Assembly To Elect President 29 Dec *[CTK]* 22
Calfa Presents Government Policy Statement *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Dec]* 22
Slovak Justice Minister Meets Disgruntled Inmates *[CTK]* 29
Commission To Investigate Prisons *[CTK]* 29
'Small Explosions' Reported at 2 Colleges *[Prague Radio]* 30
Concern About Stability of Food Supplies *[Bratislava PRAVDA 21 Dec]* 30

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Contacts With Romanian Securitate Denied *[ADN]* 31
Gerlach, Modrow Congratulate Romanian Leaders *[East Berlin Radio]* 31
Modrow-Kohl Talks Assessed Positively *[Prokot in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Dec]* 31
Kohl's 19 Dec Speech in Dresden *[FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU 21 Dec]* 31
FRG, GDR Labor Ministers Agree to Talks *[ADN]* 33
Sindermann Discusses Honecker's Ouster *[ADN]* 33
Roundtable Talks Resume in Berlin *[East Berlin Radio]* 33
Schnur Leaves Roundtable *[Hamburg DPA]* 34
Resignation 'Temporary' *[ADN]* 34
Vice Premier Notes Economic Roundtable Talks *[ADN]* 34
Roundtable Talk on Criminal Law Amendment *[NATIONAL-ZEITUNG 20 Dec]* 35
New Forum Not To Form Political Party *[ADN]* 36
Grass-Roots Groups Support New Forum Party *[ADN]* 36
Gysi Says Europe Should Support Nation *[ADN]* 36
LDPD Congress To Be Held 9-10 Feb *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Dec]* 36
Statement of LDPD Goals Released *[ADN]* 37
Group Set Up To Oversee Redeploying Workers *[ADN]* 37
Leipzig Bezirk Council Elects New Chairman *[ADN]* 37
Party Congresses, Policies Viewed *[Eggert in BERLINER ZEITUNG 18 Dec]* 37
Bishops Conference on Number of Christians *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Dec]* 38

HUNGARY

Leaders Greet New Romanian Counterparts *[Budapest Radio]* 39
Nemeth Sends Telegram to Romanian Premier *[MTI]* 39
Defense Spokesman Comments on Romania *[Budapest Radio]* 39
Keleţi on Plans for Airlift to Romania *[MTI]* 40
Szuros Receives Soviet Envoy, Views Relations *[MTI]* 40
Horn Assesses Talks in Brussels *[NEPSZAVA 15 Dec]* 40
Assembly Rejects TU Proposal on Wages *[MTI]* 41
Official on HSP Reaction to Nemeth Resignation *[Budapest Radio]* 41
Nyers Comments on MSZMP Congress *[Budapest Radio]* 42
Nemeth on Budget Compromises *[Budapest TV]* 42
MTI Sums Up 1st Day at National Assembly 42
Berecz Addresses National Assembly 19 Dec *[Budapest Radio]* 43
Nemeth Attends Control Committee Session *[MTI]* 43
Opposition Figures Discuss Next Government *[Budapest Radio]* 43
Labor Chief on Rising Unemployment *[MTI]* 45
Labor Office's Halmos on Social Security *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 16 Dec]* 46
Ribanszki Notes MDF Complaint Against Him *[NEPSZABADSAG 2 Dec]* 46
Nyers Discusses End of 'Traditional' Communism *[Milan L'UNITA 13 Dec]* 47

POLAND

Further Reportage on Reaction to Romanian Events 49
New Government Recognized *[PAP]* 49
Mazowiecki Greets New Counterpart *[PAP]* 49
Jaruzelski Sends Message *[PAP]* 49
AFP Reports Walesa View of Events 49
Daily Calls for East European Integration *[Kolodziejczyk in RZECZPOSPOLITA 21 Dec]* 49
Mazowiecki Issues Christmas Message *[PAP]* 51
New Appointments to Radio, TV, Energy Posts *[Warsaw TV]* 51
First Privately Owned Paper Published 21 Dec *[PAP]* 51

ROMANIA

Further on Ceausescus' Downfall, Execution 52
Fall of Regime *[AFP]* 52
Trial Reported on Radio *[Bucharest Radio]* 52
Said To Deserve Execution *[Ankara ANATOLIA]* 54
Reported Buried Near Bucharest *[AFP]* 55
Mixed Feelings on Speedy Execution *[AFP]* 55
Support for New Government; Front Takes Action 55
Sibiu Evangelical Church Endorsement *[AGERPRES]* 55
Magyar Democratic Union Support *[AGERPRES]* 56
Labor Ministry Support *[AGERPRES]* 56
Support of Hungarian Federation *[Budapest Radio]* 56
Front Meets on Country's Future *[AFP]* 57
Statement on Education *[AGERPRES]* 57
Interior, Defense Ministries Merge *[Bucharest Radio]* 58
Abrogation of Ceausescu Laws *[Bucharest Radio]* 58
Establishment of Military Tribunals *[Bucharest Radio]* 59
Iliescu Statements Reported *[AGERPRES]* 59
State, Political Activity Separated *[Bucharest Radio]* 60
Additional Information on New Government Leaders *[AFP]* 60
Biographical Information on Petre Roman *[AGERPRES]* 61
Government Opponents Hold Meeting in Bucharest *[Belgrade Radio]* 61
Update on Status of Ceausescu Loyalists *[AFP]* 61
Appeal to Army for Mobilization of Reserve Units *[AGERPRES]* 62
Provinces, Bucharest Update; Fighting Subsides 62
Appeal to Residents in Arad *[MTI]* 62
Timisoara Still Fighting Securitate *[AFP]* 62
Timisoara News Conference *[TANJUG]* 63
'Life Returns to Normal' *[AGERPRES]* 63
Cluj Buries Dead *[AFP]* 63
Situation in Bucharest *[MTI]* 64
Victims Buried in 'Cemetery of Young Heroes' *[AGERPRES]* 65
Laszlo Tokes Issues Statement to People *[Bucharest Radio]* 65
Assassination of Milea Confirmed *[MTI]* 66
Army Claims Prepared To Revolt Since 1984 *[PAP]* 66
AGERPRES Reviews Romanian Free Press 66
Hungarian Red Cross Convoy Attacked; 2 Killed *[Stockholm Radio]* 68
Red Cross Teams Head for North, West Romania *[AFP]* 68
Otopeni International Airport Operating Normally *[AGERPRES]* 69

YUGOSLAVIA

Further Reportage on Events in Romania, Reactions 70
Markovic Congratulates Roman *[TANJUG]* 70
Aid Planned *[TANJUG]* 70
Romanian Officials Receive Envoy *[Belgrade Radio]* 70
Foreign Office Official in Romania *[Belgrade Radio]* 71
Loncar Briefs FEC on Events *[TANJUG]* 71

Abdic Sentenced to 4 Years in Prison *[Belgrade Radio]* 71
LCY CC Continues 29th Session *[Belgrade Radio]* 71
Members of LCY Committee in YPA Elected *[TANJUG]* 72
Macedonian Assembly Appoints New Officials *[TANJUG]* 72
Report on Macedonian Congress Proceedings *[BORBA 27 Nov]* 72
Further on Session *[TANJUG]* 74
Political Pluralism in Montenegro Viewed *[BORBA 18-19 Nov]* 75
Loncar Meets With Montenegrin Officials *[TANJUG]* 76
Montenegrin LC Discusses LCY Congress Documents *[Belgrade Radio]* 76

CSSR Reacts to U.S. 'Intervention' in Panama

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement

LD2212204689 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] In connection with the U.S. intervention in Panama the Federal Foreign Ministry has issued a statement. It stresses that all disputes between states should be resolved solely by political and peaceful means. In the interest of improving international relations the U.S. administration should therefore halt military action and withdraw army units from the territory of Panama.

Students from Latin American countries held a protest meeting in front of the U.S. Embassy in Prague today. They demanded an immediate end to the U.S. intervention in Panama and called on Czechoslovak citizens to join in their protest.

Human Rights Group Voices Concern

LD2412173189 Prague CTK in English 1543 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 24 (CTK)—The Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation has voiced concern over the way of the United States of tackling its disputes with General Noriega.

In a statement conveyed to the U.S. Embassy in Czechoslovakia, the committee stressed that "the Czechoslovak people are returning not only to democratic life but also to open friendship with the U.S. people, sealed by the joint struggle against the deadly danger of fascism".

"All the more we are concerned over the way the United States tackles its disputes with General Noriega, which is, in our opinion at variance with international treaties in the sphere of human rights", the statement stressed.

Commentary Condemns Intervention

AU2512112089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Dec 89 p 7

[Commentary by Josef Nyvlt, RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Washington, from the "Notes" column: "The U.S. Doctrine"]

[Text] U.S. television companies have their third "show" in 3 days. After the earthquake and the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, the third nonstop telecast: the invasion of Panama. Dozens of military transport planes, dozens of combat helicopters are flying over cameras which are under the protection of the temporarily occupying units. Arrows on a map, just like during a general's staff games, indicate the strikes by special U.S. units against Panamanian cities.

Like President Bush in his television speech, hundreds of journalists assure, and will continue to assure, what a useful and necessary political step it was, how it was necessary to give a lesson to one dictator who did not heed U.S. warnings and interests.

But what is involved is not only the very controversial person of General Noriega nor sympathies or antipathies for one politician. What is involved is a military intervention, another aggression by a big power against a small country, assertion of big power interests by means of brutal military force, an international act no genuine democracy can agree with.

This is not unexpected. There have been signs for 2 years now. They intensified after the attempted coup on 3 October and after the military intervention by the U.S. Army in the Philippines. However, one expected that—despite growing pressure—President Bush's prudence and the influence of the nascent civilized relations among sovereign states, where Afghanistan and Grenada could have been the last chapters of violence, would prevail.

Where did the U.S. opposition to the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine go? Where are the principles of the Helsinki process? Could it be that they apply only in Europe and to one side only?

The influence of the U.S. perception of democracy on our civilization is indubitable. With full right they condemn the misuse of power, arguments of strength, arrogance, and, at the same time, they unfortunately often commit them. In light of the intervention in Panama, many of the U.S. arguments clearly look, more than anything else, like hypocrisy. What is involved is not just "Bush's doctrine," because before him there also was Reagan and a number of his predecessors. This is the U.S. doctrine with all the paraphernalia.

Slovene LC Congress Condemns U.S. in Panama

LD2412051189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2150 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—A statement was adopted at the 11th Congress of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] tonight by which the Slovene Communists support the international condemnation of the United States aggression on the sovereign Republic of Panama.

In our solidarity we support and remain loyal to our principled stand which opposes interference in the internal affairs of others", the statement stresses. [no opening quotation marks as received]

It also states that crushing the sovereignty of a free state constitutes an unacceptable violation of international legal norms and the principles of coexistence in the international community, the ones we in the LC have always advocated.

This should be stressed even more in the case of a move made by those who declare themselves the bearers of high democratic principles and man's freedoms in the world", the statement concludes. [no opening quotation marks as received]

Government Respects 'Rights of Romanian People'

AU2512161489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] The Albanian Government is in favor of the further development of good relations between Albania and Romania.

On 25 December 1989, the Romanian Embassy in Tirana informed the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania about the events in Romania, which have led to the overthrow of Ceausescu and his clan. Through the Foreign Affairs Ministry, it has been stressed to the Romanian Embassy that Albania has respected and continues to respect the Romanian people's rights to freedom, independence, and full sovereignty and to determine their internal affairs themselves. It has expressed the Albanian people's feelings of sympathy and friendship for the Romanian people and the desire of the Albanian Government to further develop the good relations existing between our two countries. At the meeting, representatives of the Romanian Embassy in Tirana declared that the staff has expressed its support for the provisional government of the National Salvation Council of Romania and its program.

Refugees: Albania Worse Than Ceausescu's Romania

AU2612154389 Paris AFP in English 1510 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, Dec 26 (AFP)—Albanian refugees in France said in a statement Tuesday that living conditions and human rights abuses in Albania "are even worse than in the Romania of Ceausescu."

The communique, issued by a group of Albanian refugee associations, criticized the international community's inattention to human rights abuses in Albania, the last bastion of repressive Stalinist politics in Eastern Europe.

"From purge to purge," the statement said, "all of Albania has become a veritable prison camp and basic human rights have been violated since 1945."

Albanian elections on December 2, 1945, resulted in a Communist-controlled government, which on January 11, 1946, proclaimed Albania a republic.

Albania has remained totally isolated from the reforms sweeping the rest of the European communist bloc. The Stalinist government of Ramiz Alia has strongly criticised what it calls "the restoration of capitalism" in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The refugees also called attention to the enclave of Albanians living in the southern Yugoslavian province of Kosovo, where they are "deprived of elementary rights."

Meanwhile, pretender to the Albanian throne Leka I who lives in exile in South Africa, on Tuesday urged Albanians to ride the wave of reforms in Eastern Europe and rise up "in unity and cohesion against the tyrannical and atheist regime."

He also voiced his desire to be "the guarantor of a national referendum" that would allow the people to choose a democratic government.

Leka I, aged 50, has lived in exile since his birth. His father, King Zog, was toppled by Italian troops and Albania was occupied by Mussolini in 1939.

Stalin's 110th Birthday Anniversary Commemorated

AU2112133589 Tirana ATA in English 1025 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Tirana, December 21 (ATA)—On occasion of the 110th anniversary of the birthday of J.V. Stalin, outstanding Marxist-Leninist and worthy follower of the work of genius of V.I.Lenin, various activities were organised in the districts of the country.

The Regional Party Committee of Qytet Stalin organized a meeting which was attended also by the secretary of the Berat District Party Committee, Abdyl Pilafi, and other comrades.

In this activity it was spoken on the life and deed of J.V. Stalin, great proletarian internationalist, outstanding strategist of the Patriotic War of the Soviet peoples. In this context the papers "Stalin's Struggle Against Modern Revisionism," "Stalin—Great Strategist of the Second World War" were read in meetings with workers, specialists, school pupils. Likewise extracts from the book of Comrade Enver Hoxha "With Stalin" (memoirs) were read out and a photo-exhibition with photos from his life and revolutionary activity was opened. By the statue of Stalin in the centre of the town bouquets of flowers were laid and Pioneers of Enver stood guards of honour.

[Word indistinct] the Party Committee of the "Stalin" Textile Combine in the capital organized a meeting in one of the halls of this combine where it was spoken on the figure of Stalin as a great internationalist and about the struggle of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party] in defence of his deed from the attacks, slanders, and distortions of modern revisionists. Such activities were also conducted in the districts of Shkoder, Vlore, and Sarande.

'General Political Strike' Called for 28 Dec

AU2612203089 Sofia BTA in English 2010 GMT 26 Dec 89

["General Political Strike Call"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA)—A Strike Coordinating Committee declared a two-hour warning strike on December 27 and a general political strike on December 28. The strike call, broadcast on Bulgarian Television, said that no government and no party will receive a mandate of trust unless actual guarantees of democratic rights are provided.

It was declared that there are workforces which accept the Strike Coordinating Committee appeal and others which reject it.

Appearing in the TV programme, Prof Ivan Angelov warned that the general strike could turn the economic crisis into an economic disaster. At the same time he revealed that the output of 125 types of products has dropped below the 1988 level between the beginning of this year and the end of November.

Reactions to Podkrepa Call for Strike

AU2712104589

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1000 GMT on 27 December carries 3 reports on reactions to the call of the Independent "Podkrepa" Labor Foundation for a general political strike on 28 December.

The first is a 3-minute report consisting of quotations from an "avalanche of phone calls and telegrams," received by Sofia Radio, that express disagreement with Podkrepa's call. Workers from various industrial plants throughout the country demand "not to disrupt the production process," "to continue the implementation of the economic plan," "not to push the nation toward the situation in Romania," "to continue normal work—the most important thing at the moment," and so forth.

The second is a 1-minute report on a "letter by the Independent Social-Democratic Club, which was founded on 30 November." The announcer, who reports the letter, says that "the club members have decided at a general meeting with only one opposing vote, to support the declaration of the "Podkrepa" Labor Foundation. "We adhere to the opinion that the dismantling of the totalitarian system in Bulgaria has only begun, and its structures remain practically intact. The Bulgarian Communist Party must finally understand that only equal dialogue with all public and political organizations leads toward resolving the crisis," the letter reads.

The third is the 1-minute "declaration of the National Executive Council of the Union of Free Democrats in Bulgaria," in Stara Zagora, read by its chairman, Khristo Sankulov. The declaration reads:

"In connection with the declaration of the Independent 'Podkrepa' Federation that calls for a general strike aimed at effecting the resignation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the government, the National Executive Council of our party considers it its duty to declare:

"If conditions are provided for a roundtable dialogue with the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, we shall not support this initiative of 'Podkrepa' and call upon all our compatriots to show restraint.

"We shall resort to political strikes only after we exhaust all other peaceful means.

"As a party struggling for the construction of a democratic society, we want to live in a country that has a freely and democratically elected parliament and government."

Independent Podkrepa Federation's Declaration

AU2712095789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Dec 89 p 2

[Declaration issued by the Independent 'Podkrepa' Labor Federation—date and place not given]

[Text] Citizens of Bulgaria,

The tragic events in Romania clearly show where the totalitarian system could lead, if it is allowed to continue its existence. Analysis of the events after 10 November 1989 shows that until this moment there is no real democracy in Bulgaria, because the totalitarian system has practically remained intact.

Brothers and sisters, we demand the following as a guarantee of the irreversibility and continuation of the democratic process:

1. The resignation of the government and the formation of a coalition Cabinet led by an independent prime minister.

2. Self-dissolution of the National Assembly, formed by Todor Zhivkov.

3. The collective resignation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], all heads and deputy heads of the BCP Central Committee Departments, and all oblast and municipal BCP committees.

4. The immediate dissolution of all BCP organizations at places of work.

In order to implement our demands we call upon the citizens to actively participate in:

—a round-the-clock vigil;

—meetings;

—demonstrations;

—a 2-hour warning strike;

—a general strike.

We call upon the health protection, power supply, and metallurgy workers, as well as workers who work in enterprises with uninterrupted production schedules, to participate in the strike in a symbolic manner.

Podkrepa Appeals for Immediate Changes

AU2612190389 Sofia BTA in English
1833 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA)—The Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation circulated today via the BTA an appeal to the citizens of this country.

Based on the understanding that democracy is in danger and in confirmation of its declaration from December 23, Podkrepa insists for immediate democratic changes and appeals for:

A round-the-clock vigil in front of the Sveta Sofia Church in the capital city till Wednesday, December 27; a warning two-hour strike (after the commencement of the working time) on Wednesday December 27; a one-day general political strike on Thursday, December 28.

Podkrepa Reaffirms Commitment to Declaration

AU2612123989 Sofia BTA in English
2112 GMT 25 Dec 89

["Podkrepa Accuses, Draws Accusations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 25 (BTA)—The Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation in Bulgaria reaffirmed its commitment to the provisions contained in its December 23, 1989 declaration and rejected the accusations leveled at it by the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in connection with that document.

In a new declaration read on the main TV evening news broadcast today, Podkrepa called into question the fact that the CC of the BCP, which is a collective body, could have authored the declaration signed on behalf of the Central Committee.

Podkrepa rejects the accusations that by calling for rallies, demonstrations and strikes the Independent Trade Union Federation was destabilizing the situation in the country. The Federation argues that such manifestations are not banned under Bulgarian law and can be held in compliance with a number of international agreements.

The Independent Trade Union further disagrees with the allegations that Podkrepa is striving for power and insists on knowing precisely which power is meant by this: legislative, executive, or judicial. There is no such separation of powers in Bulgaria, the Federation declares.

Having read the declaration, the announcer said that the television will also give platform to those targeted in the statement.

In a separate development, it was reported that the workforce of Sofia's Electron Plant had unanimously assessed the Podkrepa declaration of December 23 as irresponsible and undermining the renewal processes in this country.

The servicemen of Outfit 34340 have received with alarm and indignation the news that isolated groups of people are trying to make political capital out of the tragedy of the fraternal Romanian people. They describe the earlier Podkrepa declaration as an attempt to replace the overthrown rule of Todor Zhivkov and his entourage by the rule of another clique using blackmail and threats camouflaged as slogans demanding democracy and political pluralism.

The servicemen accuse the authors of the Podkrepa declaration of not having cared to consult the opinion of their own rank-and-file members, let alone a larger number of people. "Contrary to what they imagine, they are not backed by the entire people. We, too, resolutely distance ourselves from their destructive stand," the servicemen write.

The Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) has adopted a declaration which reads in part:

"At this watershed time, when the fate of the homeland depends on us all, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party categorically expresses its stand that well-intentioned tolerance and respect for different opinions and views is the only possible way to achieve calm and constructive dialogue among the different political and public forces in the country.

"We were therefore puzzled and alarmed to receive the December 23 declaration of the Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation which makes improper use of the "tragic events in Romania" for the attainment of certain goals.

"The Bulgarian Agrarian Party does not oppose the free expression of different opinions. It favours a democracy without ultimatums issued by anybody. The BZNS therefore declares itself in favour of immediate arrangements for a roundtable discussion as a venue of a sensible and candid dialogue on equal terms among all public and political forces for the sake of Bulgaria.

"It is high time that all political forces realize that raising peremptory demands can only result in mounting social tension and an aggravated economic and political crisis," the Standing Committee of the BZNS says in its declaration.

Politburo Decides on Dialogue With Groups

AU2612192689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Following the implementation of the new policy of open, constructive, and honest political dialogue with all sociopolitical forces in the country, with the view to constructing the People's Republic of Bulgaria as a modern, democratic, and socialist state—as confirmed by the 11-13 December Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Plenum—the BCP Central Committee Politburo decided the following at its 26 December meeting:

The Politburo proposes a meeting of the leaderships of the BCP and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, as ruling parties, in order to analyze the situation existing in the country and to discuss the pressing problems and measures related to further developing restructuring in Bulgaria.

The Politburo proposes to the leaderships of the newly established informal and independent social structures and movements that they conduct roundtable discussions on the basic issues of restructuring.

The Poitburo proposes to the leaderships of the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Dimitrov Komsomol, the Committee of Bulgarian Women, and other public movements and organizations in the country, that they conduct roundtable discussions on the basic issues of restructuring in our country.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo proposes to begin the meetings immediately after the new year.

Faction To Be Founded Within BCP on 12 Jan

AU2612202189 Sofia BTA in English 1950 GMT 26 Dec 89

["Faction Within the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA)—It was confirmed that an Alternative Socialist Association (ASO) will be established as an informal organization of the Communists not committed to the repressive regime. It will perform the functions of a faction within the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. The Initiative Group is chaired by Mr Nikolay Vasilev. The association will hold its constituent meeting at Sofia University on January 12, 1990. The existence of the faction was first made public in a TV program on December 24.

The ASO will take part in the general movement for the country's democratization, for free elections and a new parliament, for the promulgation of a new Constitution and the enactment of a new legal system, for economic stabilization and cultural rebirth.

In a press release the Initiative Group lists the faction's immediate tasks, including an en bloc resignation of the incumbent CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, placing a caretaker party leadership in charge of preparations for an extraordinary BCP Congress, equal-terms participation of the faction in the congress, drafting a new BCP program and rules to abandon democratic centralism as a governing principle, the ban on factionalism and any kind of dictatorship in inner party life. ASO favours an exposure and elimination of the falsifications in the BCP history and a reduction of the party apparatus staff to a size consistent with international standards. It declares itself in favour of making the BCP property, funds and printing facilities available for use jointly with other political parties in Bulgaria.

The press release says that the Initiative Group has decided to found the Alternative Socialist Association is guided by a desire to revive the progressive traditions of the BCP.

Control-Auditing Commission Personnel Changes

AU2612201889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] On 26 December, a plenum of the Central Control-Auditing Commission of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] took place. The plenum conducted cadre changes. Nacho Papazov was relieved of his post chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, because of his election as BCP Central Committee member.

Georgi Minev, hitherto deputy chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, was elected chairman.

The following persons were relieved of membership in the bureau and of the posts of deputy chairmen of the commission, at their own request or because of retirement: Stamo Kerezov, Docho Shipkov, and Aleksandur Todorov.

Kiril Nestorov was relieved of the post of deputy chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission.

Georgi Sharkov was ousted from the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission because of violations of the party statute and ethics.

The following were elected members of the Bureau of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission: Asen Yankov, chairman of the Plovdiv Oblast Control-Auditing Commission, and Professor Tatyana Koleva.

Independent Association Founded in Vratsa

AU2712103989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The Initiative Committee of the Public Forum in Defense of Restructuring and Socialism has been

founded in Vratsa. It encompasses veterans of the revolutionary movement, and representatives of labor collectives, educational establishments, and mass organizations. The committee will employ legal political methods in facilitating the implementation of the new party course.

Ecoglasnost Branch Founded in Kurdzhali

AU2712103789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] A local branch of the Ecoglasnost Movement has been founded in Kurdzhali. It will strive to mobilize the city's public for constructive actions aimed at resolving the grave ecological problems. It well-known that in Kurdzhali there are many industrial enterprises, such as the Lead-Zinc Complex, the (?Bentonik) Company, and others, that pollute the environment, that turn Kurdzhali into one of the most polluted cities in Bulgaria.

Glasnost, Democracy Club News Conference

AU2612204789 Sofia BTA in English 2004 GMT 26 Dec 89

["Petko Simeonov: Totalitarian System Still Intact"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA)—The policy line has been revised but precious little has been done to dismantle the totalitarian system, leaders of the Club for Glasnost and Democracy told a news conference here today.

This independent organization was established a year ago as a debating club in support of glasnost and restructuring. Associate Professor Petko Simeonov, who chairs the club, said that it keeps seeking to assist the transition from totalitarianism to democracy. Being a political organization, the club is affiliated to the Union of Democratic Forces. The branch clubs formed around the country on its model will soon hold a coordinating conference to unite into a Federation of Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy.

The club leaders believe that the independent associations should evolve into a "normal democratic opposition". They described the attempts to discredit the independent organizations and to impede their activity as political myopia which could lead to an uncontrollable situation.

The Club for Glasnost and Democracy uses peaceful and legal methods of action, its leaders emphasized. They declared themselves in favour of round-table talks between the government and the Union of Democratic Forces. In their view, the elections should be held next autumn to give the opposition enough time to prepare for them. The press were told that the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] has reached its present state due to the lack of opposition.

Mr Petko Simeonov said, "I don't think we will be able to avoid a political strike" if democratization proceeds at its present rate.

Free Musicians Trade Union Founded in Yambol

AU2612191489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] A Free Trade Union of the Musicians from the Main Music Directorate system has been founded in Yambol. At its first meeting, the Free Trade Union of the Musicians in Yambol, after hearing the proposals of the members, adopted a resolution addressed to the Main Music Directorate, which reflects the members' demands and proposals, that calls for improving the conditions of labor and remuneration, and improving the organization of the directorate's activity.

Independent Slavonic Association Founded

AU2612191189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] An Independent Slavonic Association has been founded at the Faculty of the Higher Medical Institute in Tolbukhin. The demands, listed in its platform include the democratization of higher education, autonomy for the higher educational establishments, de-ideologization, and not persecuting students for their convictions.

Citizen Starts Hunger Strike at Parliament

AU2412132189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] At 9 am on 14 December, Petur Angelov Petrov-Pokrovski of Sofia started a hunger strike in front of the National Assembly building. His main demands are for the complete public rehabilitation of persons repressed for their political convictions; criminal prosecution of the officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the court who violated the Constitution and the Penal Code; constitutional supervision in the prisons; and the presence of a legal attorney during preliminary inquiries.

Union Leadership Forces Change in Decision

AU2612202889 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 8 Dec 89 pp 1,6

[Sonya Gulubarova report: "In the Interest of Working People"]

[Excerpts] Meetings, demonstrations, rallies—our working people finally started speaking with their own powerful voice. They finally declared that it is their right to determine the fate of the class and the fate of socialism. The Bureau of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions holds meetings. Many of its members spent the past days where the place of the trade union figures is—among the working people. Therefore, the meeting hall, where one is used to listening to empty

words and approval, was suddenly charged with that electricity that excites the workers and intelligentsia. [passage omitted]

The discussions demonstrated the trade union position on the introduction of the new system of basic wages, which was in the mean time stopped by the government. Why did nobody consult the trade unions? Why is the government again making decisions without asking us? The questions come from every direction, and Georgi Nachev, head of the State Administration on Labor Inspection, explains. Yes, discontinuing the introduction of the new wage system was effected not only because of the subjective attitude that was demonstrated in many places, but also because of certain deviations and distortions in the system itself. The idea to introduce it gradually, under conditions of broad glasnost in the labor collectives has been obliterated. The initial idea, to create more grades for assessing the quality of labor has been rejected. Nobody had taken into consideration the opinion of the State Administration on Labor Inspection on Decree No. 10 of the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

The following decision was issued immediately after the stand of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions was presented to the Council of Ministers:

"As already reported, the introduction of the new system of basic wages in the companies and other organizations was stopped on 1 December. The competent organs have been instructed to inspect the correctness of applying the system. It has been established that deviations and violations have been allowed in certain places. They are being eliminated, and the responsibility is demanded from the relevant organs and officials.

"In accordance with this, and taking into consideration the opinion of the Bureau of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the government thinks that the companies, their units, and other organizations may continue to introduce the new system of basic wages, and in this context it repeals its decision to stop the introduction of the system. Simultaneously, the leaderships of the companies and other organizations have been instructed to strictly observe the rules and conditions of introducing the new wages." [passage omitted]

Warning Strike at Sofia Bus Depot Noted

AU2612203189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Dec 89 p 2

[Dilyan Todorov report: "Meeting With Different Future Meanings"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] I cannot list all demands of the workers, who presented more than 30 demands. However, I do not have the right to gloss over demands such as: urgently ensuring the manpower needed by the city transportation system, by improving labor conditions and normalizing the wages; remunerating overtime work according to normal, just, and attractive tariffs, and not as it is done now—0.24 leva per hour; to publish the requirements for the payroll profession "driver" so that it is clear what he has to do in order to receive the envisioned payroll wage; to guarantee the inviolable and irrevocable right to rest between shifts and have weekly rest periods; to urgently review and reduce at least by half the huge administrative and semi-administrative apparatus of the company; to prohibit meetings during work time, as well as various kinds of training, free lunches and orgies [as published], and pointless civil defense exercises; to inform the public through the mass media about the labor conditions of the drivers and mechanics. [passage omitted]

I must impart my impression about the very good organization of the meeting, in which members of the "Podkrepa" Federative Council directly participated, about their insistence on adopting such a decision as would not interfere about the normal life of the capital, and about their concern with the fact that the influence of "Podkrepa" in other transportation companies is not sufficiently strong to prevent the complication of the situation in the capital and in the country. [passage omitted]

Lambrev Elected Head of Chamber of Commerce

AU2612191789 Sofia BTA in English 1442 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA)—The Managing Council of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry elected today Vladimir Lambrev chairman of the chamber.

Zhivkov Grandson's Lavish Study Grant Queried

AU2612202789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Dec 89 p 2

[Atanas Nenov article: "Who Is Studying in Switzerland and Why?"]

[Excerpts] This question emerged after citizens brought to our editorial board a xeroxed copy of the decree on official trip No. 174 of 5 October 1989, published on 9 December in TRUD, and issued by the Ministry of Economy and Planning. [passage omitted]

The decree was signed by Minister Stoyan Ovcharov. For 5 years the amount will reach 163,000 Swiss francs.

The citizens who brought the document asked whether the decree is legal. Is the amount that was allocated within the framework of the permissible? How was this particular student selected among many others? These are completely natural questions, when one takes into consideration the fact that the person involved is Todor Zhivkov's grandson. [passage omitted]

The strange element in this case is the fact that in the archives there is no written proposal on the basis of which the decree was prepared. There should have been such a proposal. Another strange thing is the fact that the

decree was typed on a machine of the kind that does not exist in the Ministry of Economy and Planning. [passage omitted]

Daily Criticizes 14 Dec Parliament Protest

AU2412133989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Dec 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Tolerance in Dialogue"]

[Text] A period of 24 hours proved more than enough for the Bulgarian people to make sense of what took place in the square in front of the National Assembly on the afternoon and evening of 14 December. The reaction varied in depth and strength, but was all directed in the same direction, namely that actions of this kind can only set up barriers on the road toward the democratization of our society, destabilize the situation in the country, and push the country toward chaos and national tragedy.

Strong words, indeed, but they are to the point, because they reflect a specific fact, namely the extreme lack of respect that several thousand people showed toward their national parliament, and this at a time when issues were being decided that were precisely concerned with the development of democratic processes in Bulgaria. On the basis of precisely these issues rests the dialogue between the different social forces upon which the informal movements have been insisting for a long time, and which the party of the Bulgarian Communists is not only appealing for, but also has started to implement.

However, at the very moment when people should have sat down around a table to hold discussions, someone hastened to hit the table with his fist, in the manner of a regime against which he claims he is protesting. Such attempts are not acceptable either to the party against which they were directed or to all those Bulgarians who want to see their homeland join the ranks of the democratic law-governed states.

According to common conviction, the fault lies with those who carried out the demonstration in National Assembly Square. However, it is by no means only their fault, because it is not only necessary, but fully possible for the Bulgarian people to be acquainted in advance with the procedural issues concerning the repeal of Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

In the state of ignorance and, generally speaking, indifference that existed until now in relation to the activities of the National Assembly, the conviction existed among the public that the constitutional amendments would be adopted at once. In this and other future cases, it is evident that advance information and explanation is an obligatory condition. A timely reaction on the part of the National Assembly in the early part of the afternoon might also have contributed to averting the subsequent events.

The lack of experience of acting in democratic conditions is a real fact, which, however, should not disturb or frighten us, or at any rate those of us who sincerely want restructuring and are working for it.

Minister Tanev's Report to National Assembly

AU2512070989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Dec 89 pp 2, 3

[Report by Internal Affairs Minister Georgi Tanev on certain questions related to citizens' complaints about violations of their rights presented to the 12th session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia on 15 December]

[Text] National Assembly Deputy Georgi Tanev said:

I have been instructed by the chairman of the National Assembly to make a report at today's session in connection with complaints by citizens of violations of their rights during the ecoforum in Bulgaria. The issue concerns the well-known case on 26 October, when an incident arose in the center of the capital between members of the "Ecoglasnost" independent movement and representatives of the city organs for defending public order.

I am convinced that the precise description of the incident should be determined on the basis of the answers to at least three questions:

First. Did the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs evaluate the actual political, social, and psychological atmosphere in the capital and the country during the ecoforum, and did it take the measures for security and maintaining normal public order that were possible within the framework of its responsibilities?

Second. Were the actions of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs during the days of the ecoforum in accordance with the law, and what breaches of the laws and of public order in the People's Republic of Bulgaria were committed in the specific situation prevailing on 26 October?

Third. What were the legal and moral consequences of the actions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs?

I also take into account the fact that following 10 November social practice in Bulgaria crossed a political Rubicon. Free scope was given to the pent-up energy of the Bulgarian people, for them to do away with a degraded policy and morality, and establish legality, democracy, and glasnost as the foundation for social relations. In this new atmosphere, we are making the first steps to establish a modern parliamentary democracy. For this reason, I am prepared to accept a different logic and a different plan for making my report to the supreme organ of state power.

However, let me set out the events and facts in their proper sequence and show how they were interrelated.

As is well known, the Bulgarian state and public agreed to host the ecoforum as an expression of confidence, for reasons of prestige, and also as a real step in the all-European process for building security and cooperation.

Evaluating all the aspects, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the National Preparatory Committee adopted a resolution and a program for holding the Sofia meeting.

The main task of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was defined as providing reliable protection and security for the participants and to ensure public order in the capital and in all locations determined by the authorities responsible for the holding of public events connected with the ecoforum. Contact and cooperation was established with the competent organs of certain neighboring Balkan countries and other states, on the basis of the accords of the Belgrade meeting.

If we bear in mind the statements made by the participants in the ecoforum, one reaches the assessment that all the requirements were fulfilled. The organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs contributed to the holding of the European meeting in a calm and normal manner.

The unpleasant and unnecessary incident on 26 October proved to be an exception to the general atmosphere.

This is what I know about the chronology of certain facts that shed light on the incident.

On Friday 20 October, I had an unexpected telephone call from Todor Zhivkov, the then-general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council. Apart from some questions about public order, he asked me who had given permission for a requiem to be conducted by Khristofor Subev in the church in the Khadzhi Dimitrov district in memory of those who had died in ecological disasters.

I replied that this was their right and that it was not proper to prohibit such events, which are in accordance with the Vienna accords. Any attempt to obstruct such initiatives will produce a negative response both in Bulgaria and abroad.

A pause followed, after which certain words were said to me that caused me alarm. This was why after the telephone call I approached Petur Mladenov, then minister of foreign affairs, with a request. I asked him to go with me to the chairman of the State Council and brief him on the progress of the ecoforum and on the measures connected with it.

This meeting took place. We defended our view that the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs should intervene only in the event of a breach of public order or of threats to the security of the participants.

It is possible that the former leader applied pressure himself, or exerted influence on others, because on the afternoon of Monday, 23 October, I was summoned to see Dimitur Stoyanov, then Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee. In connection with his assessment that a rally was being organized for 3 November and that the garden in front of the "Crystal" building would be seized as a venue for an "Ecoglasnost" agitation club, he issued an instruction to Stayko Stoyanov, secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, telling him to order the city organs to take steps to prevent this demonstrative action. The organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were asked to support the actions of the city leadership.

I reacted sharply to this instruction, saying that the issue concerned a political move that required the assessment and sanction of the Central Committee, or at least the Politburo. I said that Dimitur Stoyanov cannot assume such a political responsibility, irrespective of the posts he occupied, and the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was even less able to assume such a responsibility.

This is the reason that no further orders were issued to the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on changing their accepted manner of behavior.

On Wednesday, 25 October, Dimitur Stoyanov was informed by Mincho Chuntov, secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, concerning the nonobservance of the established procedure by participants in certain manifestations being held in parallel with the ecoforum. Instead of holding their event in the Southern Park, as specified by the chairman of the Executive Committee of Sofia City People's Council, they were assembling in the garden in front of the "Crystal" building. Dimitur Stoyanov informed Todor Zhivkov of this viewpoint, and was asked to ensure that the Sofia City BCP Committee and the Ministry of Internal Affairs formed a view concerning the matter of observing the instructions.

The question was investigated, and it was established that the participants in these manifestations were insisting on a document in writing issued by the Sofia City People's Council. Stefan Ninov was informed by Mincho Chuntov, secretary of Sofia City BCP Committee, and myself. In response to the inquiry from Aleksandur Karakachanov, an "Ecoglasnost" activist, Kostadin Kralev, deputy chairman of the Sredets Municipal People's Council, presented in writing the view of the Sofia City People's Council concerning the venue for the gatherings.

The same evening, after the operational situation in the country and certain issues had been assessed, Grigor Shopov, first deputy minister of internal affairs, reported that after receiving the letter the initiators of the demonstration accepted the argument and dispersed. The leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs considered that this closed the incident.

The next day, on 26 October around lunchtime, the chief of the Sofia City Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, General Malinchev, telephoned to

report on what had occurred at the Crystal building as a fait accompli. He issued the order for action by the public order protection organs, after receiving rebukes and instructions from Sofia City BCP Committee Secretary Mincho Chuntov, given on the orders of Dimitur Stoyanov and Ivan Panev, then members of the Politburo. When I asked what actually took place, I was informed that a group of persons disobeyed the order of the Sofia City People's Council. Six citizens were transported in buses to the Southern Park, for them to hold the event planned by them at the place determined for it. It was also reported to me that physical force had been used, because the citizens resisted the militia's order to enter the bus. Aleksandur Karakachanov lay down on the ground, while another "Ecoglasnost" activist, Deyan Kyuranov, made an attempt to butt the bus with his head. This attempt was frustrated by an officer of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. During the application of physical force no truncheons, handcuffs, or other instruments were used, and there was no risk, nor is there now, to the health of the citizens.

I issued an order in writing for reports to be made to me on all the circumstances of the incident of 26 October.

From the report that was subsequently submitted, it became clear that not one, but two cases of the forced conveyance of citizens to the Southern Park occurred.

At 7 am on 26 October, the letter from the Sofia City People's Council was handed by the deputy chairman of the Sredets Municipal People's Council to Aleksandur Karakachanov, who accepted it without any reaction.

At about 1100 hours the same day, a group of 15-20 citizens—members of "Ecoglasnost," including Aleksandur Karakachanov and Deyan Kyuranov, gathered in the vicinity of the First City Hospital, after which they set off along G.S. Rakovski Street toward the garden in front of the Crystal building. About 200 meters past the hospital, the group was warned by an officer of the Sofia City Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that they were not fulfilling the decision of the Executive Committee of the Sofia City People's Council, for which they would be held responsible. According to the report, the officer invited them to set off to the Southern Park. In reply Aleksandur Karakachanov was reported to have shown the letter and said that those present did not accept it and would not carry out the instruction of the Sofia City People's Council.

Refusing to comply with the warning, the group entered a private house, collected propaganda materials, and set off in an organized way toward the Crystal building.

In order to prevent the breach of public order, the officers of the Sofia City Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs removed from the group the most active participants—Aleksandur Karakachanov, Deyan Kyuranov, Krasimir Kunev, Lilyana Aleksandrieva, Nikolinka Nikolova, and Donko Ivanov, who were taken in a bus to the Southern Park and then released.

The remainder of the group continued on their way to the Crystal building. At about 1120 hours they were met at the entrance to the garden by Pavel Spiridonov, another officer of the Sredets Municipal People's Council, who once again invited the participants to follow the instruction of the Sofia City People's Council.

There were sharp verbal exchanges between the "Ecoglasnost" and citizens who chanced to pass by, tension increased, and a risk was created that people would take things into their own hands. A number of foreign journalists attached to the ecoforum turned out to also be present in the garden, and they showed great activity in documenting the incident. Among them was Mark Power, a BBC journalist. Stoyan Gotsev Rangelov, born on 10 February 1925 in the village of Dolna Dikanya and a pensioner, hurled reproaches at Mark Power to the effect that he was not covering the work of the ecoforum, for which he had been sent to Bulgaria, and during this exchange threw the journalist's camera on the ground.

The timely intervention of officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs prevented a fight between the two.

As tension grew and citizens gathered, Lieutenant Colonel Bonev, deputy chief for protecting public order in the Sofia City militia administration, ordered the removal of the violators of public order from the area, and for them to be taken by bus to Southern Park.

A total of 15 persons were forcibly put on board the bus and conveyed to the Southern Park: Dimitrina Petrova, Plamen Darakchiev, Lyubomir Sobadzhiev, Evdin Sugarev, Vladimir Khristov, Elenko Bozhkov, Nikolay Tsonev, Kostantsa Popova, Mariya Popova, Kostadin Georgiev, Valeri Andreev, Velichko Panayotov, Yuriy Yakovlev, T. Yordanov, Yuray Kvaka, and one further person. Petur Slabakov was the last to enter the bus, and did so voluntarily.

At about 1400 hours almost all the "Ecoglasnost" activists returned once again to the area in front of the Crystal building.

When I noted the evident discrepancies in the factual circumstances described in the two reports of the Sofia City Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the additional allegations contained in the seven citizens' complaints, a commission was instructed to carry out a comprehensive investigation.

From every viewpoint, the incident of 26 October is regrettable. Luckily no one was injured. The conflict was limited mainly to moral damage—both to the ordinary citizens and to the officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Despite the fact that the instructions or actions were carried out without the knowledge of the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, we must offer an apology.

I am grateful that the question was raised and that I was given the opportunity to make this report to the National

Assembly, because we are profoundly convinced that the incident of 26 October poses fundamental problems of principle.

The first issue is connected with the fact the laws that we were discussing yesterday did not exist at the time; laws that define the procedure for implementing the rights of citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria that are guaranteed by the Constitution.

This conclusion is not being made just now by the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in connection with the question in the National Assembly and the specific incident of 26 October.

Being comparatively new to the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, after having learned about the main directions of its work, I noted during my very first months certain acute disturbances in a certain section of the ministry's staff.

The first disturbance was that our staff is forced in practice to choose:

—between their sacred duty and the real truth; and

—between the consciously accepted responsibility for the goal and the means used for achieving this goal, in a situation of inadequate legal protection for the militia.

This split was painful, because the fulfillment by the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the tasks entrusted to them was not, and cannot be a matter of individual choice.

This is why one of my first steps as minister of internal affairs was to inform the Central Committee, the government, and the State Council orally and in writing, and insist on every occasion on the need for these processes to be settled by legal ordinances.

The draft laws on meetings, rallies, and demonstrations and on public associations of citizens that we discussed, were drawn up on the initiative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Whether complete or incomplete, these documents were submitted by our ministry, jointly with the Ministry of Justice and the Chief Prosecutor's Office, as far back as last April to the Legislation Council of the State Council.

In conformity with the idea of building a law-governed and democratic state, these draft laws were conceived and drafted in a package together with the laws already adopted in connection with the Vienna accords: the Law on Foreign Passports, the Amnesty Law, the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship, and the Law on Amendment of the Penal Code. I do not know the reasons why their submission to the National Assembly was delayed. I bear the responsibility for this, both as a minister and as a people's deputy. It is the prerogative of parliament to assess the extent of this responsibility, as well as its confidence in the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Second. The new understanding of the role and place of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the law-governed state and the society requires us to carry out the law-protection work entrusted to us solely in the form of lawfully counteracting criminal encroachments and to defend:

—the constitutional system;

—national security;

—public order; and

—the rights, liberties, and lawful interests of the Bulgarian citizens.

In this connection we will seek the support of the National Assembly and society for adoption of the following laws:

—on national and social security;

—on the State Security;

—on the People's Militia; and

—on improvements to the Code of Penal Procedure.

These laws should be discussed as widely as possible and be made well-known to every Bulgarian citizen. This will provide a reliable guarantee for protecting citizens' rights against both nihilism and possible arbitrary action by the protectors of these rights. Naturally, in this way our own actions will also be protected by law. In carrying out their duties, the officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will act with the clear awareness that they are carrying out the will of parliament, the will of the people.

On Saturday, 9 December, a procession of a large group of citizens took place, a procession for which no social organization or structure accepted the responsibility as organizer. On this occasion also, just as at the previous rally, anti-constitutional and antisocial slogans were put forward and chanted, the behavior of some of the citizens exceeded the limits permissible in any civilized and law-governed state, and all attempts to bring influence to bear by democratic means and humane dialogue were rejected out of hand. These manifestations make it necessary for the whole of society to take action in order to ensure that order and calm is preserved in our land.

At the same time, there is a need to strengthen the units for combating the rise in criminal offenses and organized crime. The experience of the other socialist states shows that when radical political and economic changes are being carried out, including along the road of democratizing society, there is a considerable increase in crime and other negative phenomena.

The openness of society is an important principle that should permeate our activity. One of our ideas in this context is to seek that the press, television, and radio are present in real time at events. It is more difficult and more demanding to do one's job in the conditions of

glasnost, but one should not take away society's right to receive information about the state and national protection of its own interests.

As a higher form of state and public control over the activity of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, it is necessary to establish the control of the National Assembly.

I am aware that the ideas set out here do not deal with all the problems and tasks that we face in order to actively involve the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in restructuring and defense of citizens' rights. We believe that time and opportunity for discussing these issues will be provided in the relevant parliamentary commissions, because, just as in all fields, many things must be changed in the Ministry of Internal Affairs as well, such as the method of thinking and the attitude to the job.

The leadership of the ministry has always adopted a very strict attitude to deviations from the norms of official conduct. At the same time, I would like to assure the National Assembly that the vast majority of the officials are loyal patriots of their native land. They are faithfully serving and will continue to serve the social ideals, said Georgi Tanev in conclusion.

Dimitur Tomov Posthumously Rehabilitated

AU2612203389 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 11 Dec 89 p 1

["N. A." report: "Accused of Treason"]

[Excerpts] The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has issued a decree, which posthumously restores the rank "major general" to Dimitur Tomov.

A few days ago, a documentary story devoted to Major Gen Dimitur Tomov was published. In it, Captain Tsvyatko Donchev told about the fate of this military commander, Communist, and patriot. The story dealt with the grave accusations that have been raised against him and the attempt of his relatives and friends to save him. However, the Sofia Oblast Military Court was categorical in its verdict—death by hanging. Furthermore, it issued not one, but four death verdicts. The author demonstrated that the trial of Dimitur Tomov, in essence, was the beginning of the repressions against many revolutionary cadres, that reached its peak with the trial of Traycho Kostov. [passage omitted]

Justice restored the title by which Dimitur Tomov was known by the revolutionary cadres, and his colleagues, friends, and relatives during the first years of freedom.

Gen Semerdzhiev Discusses Defense Panel

AU2612110289 Sofia NARODNA AMIYA in Bulgarian 11 Dec 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, "people's representative," first deputy minister of national defense, and commander of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, by Major Vladi Vladkov, NARODNA ARMIYA correspondent; date and place not given—"'We All Are Transitory, But Bulgaria Will Remain!'"]

[Excerpts] [Vladkov] Comrade colonel general, according to the agenda, the National Assembly will discuss at its forthcoming session the establishment of a National Assembly Permanent Commission on Issues of Defense and Internal Affairs. What, in your opinion, are the goals of this parliamentary organ, and what will its prerogatives be?

[Semerdzhiev] The establishment of a National Assembly Permanent Commission on Issues of Defense and Internal affairs is a new and important step toward increasing the National Assembly's role as a supreme organ of the people's government in the country. [passage omitted]

[Vladkov] Who will be the members of the new commission? Are you not concerned that they will not be sufficiently competent in anything related to the military sphere?

[Semerdzhiev] The fact that such a commission has not existed until now, the lack of experience, and the composition of the present National Assembly clearly do not allow the formation of this new organ in the manner required by the tasks it will implement. Saying this I take into consideration the fact that according to world practice, leaders and representatives of the Armed Forces and the organs of security cannot be members of this commission.

However, in the National Assembly there are members who have served in the ranks of the Bulgarian People's Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. There also are people's deputies who, albeit are not directly connected with the system of defense and security, still have the necessary competence. This will allow even at this stage to select such membership that will be ready to implement the commission's functions. [passage omitted]

[Vladkov] What is your attitude toward the so-called informal organizations?

[Semerdzhiev] Instead of "informal" I would call them independent. There must not be a simple answer to this question. Nobody doubts the patriotism and high human and civic moral of the people who are members of those organizations. They subjugate their participation in various initiatives and movements to the goals of renewal. They are allies of the party, and there should not be any other attitude toward them than support. However, unfortunately, in some of those organizations there are members with rather conservative thinking, members with antisocialist and restoration intentions, members led by selfish goals, and members whose acts show that they to not care for the interests of the country and the nation. It is difficult to find a common language with them. However, if they do not violate the country's laws, no administrative measures can or should be adopted against them.

Now we need high political culture and moral, and a constructive approach. It is necessary to unite all those who cherish Bulgaria. We need discipline and selfless labor. Anarchy, extremism, and adventurism are fatal.

New Decrees on Council Changes, Unemployed

AU2112135289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Dec 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Extract from DURZHAVEN VESTNIK"]

[Text] Issue No. 96 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK publishes the following important documents:

Decree No. 2793 of the State Council, adopted on 7 December 1989, whereby Ivan Petrov Shpatov is relieved of his post as chief secretary of the Council of Ministers and Pancho Lyubenov Burkalov is appointed to the same post in his place.

Decision No. 57 of the Council of Ministers, adopted on 5 December 1989, on redirecting and effectively using unemployed manpower. Workers and employees who have lost their jobs because of staff reductions resulting from technical, technological, or structural changes in production organization and management, because of the complete or partial elimination of enterprises, because of land-lease, and other similar reasons, are to be registered in special employment bureaus and subsequently transferred to other companies and organizations or, if necessary and with the workers' consent, are to be enrolled in special retraining courses. Workers and employees who have lost their jobs should be informed about available jobs and positions, and about the opportunity of enrolling in professional training courses. They are entitled to prompt re-employment or retraining for new jobs. The period during which workers and employees have been unemployed and have been granted financial indemnities and social assistance should be acknowledged as time of service according to the 1986 Labor Code and according to Section III of the 1951 Labor Code, as well as on the basis of the Pension Law. The envisioned indemnities and social assistance are not paid in a case where the individual is entitled to financial indemnities for temporary unemployment, in a case where he already receives a pension for time of service, or for old age, and in case he is engaged in socially useful labor on the basis of the Economic Activities Decree and on the basis of the code of regulation for citizens' private labor activities, or in a case where he has any other income as a freelance professional.

The Council of Ministers issues instructions for the establishment of a state institution in charge of organizing re-employment and retraining activities and finding new jobs for dismissed and temporarily unemployed workers and employees. The adminstrative organization of this institution is entrusted to the State Labor Inspectorate.

Mladenov, Atanasov Greet Romanian Leaders

AU2612190589 Sofia BTA in English 1823 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council sent Mr Iliescu, chairman of the Council of the National Salvation Front of Romania a congratulation cable on the occasion of his election to this position.

The cable expresses "solidarity with the struggle of the fraternal Romanian people for freedom, democracy, humanism and progress."

It also expresses conviction that Bulgaria and Romania will successfully cooperate in the strengthening of peace and security in Europe.

Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers sent Mr Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania a cable on the occasion of his election to this post.

Red Cross Assistance to Romania Noted

AU2612160989 Sofia BTA in English 1214 GMT 26 Dec 89

["Aid For Romania: Timely But Not Rash"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA)—The International Committee of the Red Cross reported that the population of the countries neighbouring Romania buys great quantities of medicines and sends them to Romania where due to the dynamic development of the events a system for distribution of the aid has not still been organized.

In this way the local pharmacies remain without medicines which probably are not needed in Romania at all. Such is the situation in Hungary, such is the situation in Bulgaria already.

An official position of the International Red Cross Committee is expected any moment. Because of the three-day blocking at the International Airport in Bucharest its representatives could not assess the situation till today which they had done with the assistance of the Romanian Red Cross. They have also determined which are the most pressing needs of certain medicines.

That is why it is recommended to organizations, departments, companies and independent societies to consult the Bulgarian Red Cross which has permanent contacts with the International Red Cross Committee.

At the Central Council of the Bulgarian Red Cross a telex was received by the Turkish Red Crescent. It asks for cooperation in the passing of two Turkish trucks through Bulgaria with aid for Romania. They will receive the necessary cooperation.

The interested organizations or individuals can get an answer to all questions concerning aid for Romania on telephone 442-696 the CC [Central Council] of the Bulgarian Red Cross.

Further Reportage on Romanian Events, Comments

Deputy Foreign Minister in Romania

LD2612202289 Prague CTK in English 1720 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Sadovsky left here today for Bucharest to establish contacts with the National Salvation Front, in tune with a Czechoslovak Government statement of December 23 acknowledging the front as the sole representative of the people of Romania.

The purpose of the visit is to discuss with National Salvation Front officials assistance that Czechoslovakia is prepared to give Romania on its path towards democracy, as well as cooperation between the governments of the two countries.

Revolt 'Justified'

AU2712112189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Dec 89 p 7

[Marek Dobrovolny commentary from the "Notes" column: "Which Is Precisely Why They Revolt"]

[Text] The specific data contained in the deeply shocking reports from Romania are most controversial. Some speak of 2,000, others of hundreds of dead people, still others of several victims. It is nevertheless a clear, unambiguous fact that the reports about the brutal action undertaken by the Romanian Army or security forces against the demonstrating population of Timisoara have evoked indignation both in our own country and throughout the world.

Although the current events in Romania are tragic, they are no coincidence. The population's opposition to the dictatorial powers of Ceausescu and his family clan has been growing from year to year and has now obviously reached its peak. The recent 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party was a pompous manifestation of the cult of Ceausescu's personality, showing all the distortions that accompany every cult and cult-like regime—it was a demonstration of an incomprehensible cult alien to every human idea of society. Gradually, but increasingly, the country began to resemble an overheated cauldron that is maintained only with the greatest effort and is protected against explosion solely by a police-and-suppression valve. And now this valve has proved inadequate: Under the growing pressure, it burst and disintegrated.

The Wednesday [20 December] press coverage rounds off the picture of the current abnormal situation in Romania: The Romanian papers carry extensive information about Ceausescu's visit to Iran, ROMANIA LIBERA condemns the apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, and SCINTEIA TINERETULUI writes at length about the deep crisis of the school system in the West—but that is all. Not a word about the situation in Timisoara.

The true extent and impact of the events will be revealed to us only after some time. In any case, the regime in Romania is an anachronism among the changes in Europe, an expression of personal arbitrariness which is always the work of a small handful of people, the work of a regime which has become disloyal to the ideals and ideas in which the people have believed and for which many of them have sacrificed a great deal; in the end, all this has led to anger, due to disappointment and to having been deceived. Which is precisely why they revolt. And justly so.

Calfa Interviewed on Talks With Gorbachev

LD2012202789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Shortly before his departure from Moscow today, Marian Calfa granted an interview to Soviet television in which he stated that his afternoon talks with Mikhail Gorbachev had concerned in fact the same issues as his talks with the Soviet premier.

As the Czechoslovak premier said in the interview, in the case of the departure of the Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, we would like a group of historians to explain objectively what happened in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and we are prepared to make the results of the group's investigation public. Marian Calfa at the Vnukovo Airport also told Soviet television correspondents that as we have asked Soviet historians to cooperate, we intend as well to ask for participation of historians from the other countries that took part in the entry of the armies into Czechoslovakia.

As far as today's talks between Foreign Ministers Jiri Dienstbier and Eduard Shevardnadze are concerned, the two ministers agreed that the process under way to purify bilateral relations from the accumulation of negative past effects will contribute toward their greater openness and also toward further strengthening the friendship between the countries. The ministers also agreed to open talks on the presence of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia in the first half of January next year.

Dienstbier: Accord on Soviet Presence 'Invalid'

LD2612220189 Prague CTK in English 2042 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, Dec 26 (CTK Correspondent)—Since the Warsaw Treaty member states condemned the August 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, the agreement on the temporary presence of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia is invalid from the beginning and therefore a new agreement must be negotiated, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier has said.

In an interview for Wednesday's issue of the daily LE MONDE Minister Dienstbier said that political, military, economic and psychological aspects of this issue must be taken into consideration, and stressed that the basic problem is stability or instability in Central Europe.

Speaking of Czechoslovakia's role within the Warsaw Treaty, Minister Dienstbier said the main goal is the dissolution of the two blocs so that scope is created for a democratic and pluralistic structure of security in the "whole Helsinki area". In the meantime, of course, all the existing international agreements must be respected, he said.

He stated that what is now being pursued is a policy of openness. Opening Czechoslovakia was the purpose of his meeting with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock on the Austrian border and Saturday's meeting with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on the FRG border.

Of prospects for the reunification of Germany Jiri Dienstbier said no nation should be denied the right to self-determination, and added that this process must take place alongside the reunification of Europe.

Referring to Czechoslovakia's international contacts, the foreign minister said "we wish to join the Council of Europe as soon as possible not with a status of observer but as a member."

Dubcek Awarded 1989 Andrey Sakharov Prize

LD2712095189 Prague CTK in English
0823 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 27 (CTK)—President of the European Parliament Enrique Baron Crespo has informed Alexander Dubcek, the former Czechoslovak Communist Party leader, by letter of the decision to confer upon him the Andrey Sakharov Prize for 1989.

The prize is awarded every year to individuals who commit themselves to the defence of human rights in some extraordinary way.

The prize is to be presented to Alexander Dubcek in the latter half of January.

Civic Forum-Solidarity Meeting at Border Reported

LD2112235589 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 2000 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Representatives of Solidarity and the Citizens' Legislative Floor Group (OKP) of Warsaw met delegates of Civic Forum from Prague, Brno, and Ostrava in Cesky Tesin on the Czechoslovak-Polish border today. This first official meeting discussed proposals and prospects for cooperation and strategic approaches in uniting civic initiatives in Eastern Europe. According to Jaroslav Sabata, the spokesman for Civic Forum in Brno, the aim was to set up an Interforum, an idea which has also been supported in the last few days by Bulgaria.

CSSR Removes Border Barriers With Austria

LD2712143989 Prague CTK in English
1300 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak-Austrian frontier barriers near Bratislava have been removed by today.

Reinforced concrete posts, wire-netting and barbed wire were removed at the 31-km-long frontier from Devinska Nova Ves to Rusovce. Liquidation of some signal devices will be completed in two days. i.e. by December 29.

The removal of frontier barriers from specified sections of the Czechoslovak frontier, which is being carried out on the basis of a Czechoslovak Government's decision, should finish near the Slovak capital of Bratislava by December 31. According to Lieutenant- Colonel Jozef Maczo, second-in-command of the Bratislava frontier guard, the removal will be completed in advance of the stipulated date.

CSSR, FRG Ministers Hold News Conference

LD2312202189 Prague CTK in English
1909 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Waidhaus, Dec 23 (CTK)—A press conference attended by FRG and Czechoslovak Foreign Ministers Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Jiri Dienstbier was held after the talks of the two ministers here today.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that they discussed the creation of general consulates, possibilities of opening more border crossings, exchange of youth delegations and intensification of economic and cultural cooperation. They also dealt with the need for adopting a law for the protection of FRG investments in Czechoslovakia.

The West German foreign minister invited Jiri Dienstbier for more detailed consultations to the FRG in January or February.

Jiri Dienstbier announced that they decided to create a joint commission of historians, lawyers and other scientists which will deal objectively with the issue of bilateral relations in the past. Answering a question in connection with the re-unification of Germany, he stressed that this process must take place parallelly with the unification of Europe. "All steps towards unification must be reached in general unity, must not contribute to confrontation but be based on understanding", Jiri Dienstbier underlined.

1st Day of CPCZ Congress Reported

AU2312044889 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 21 Dec 89 pp 1, 2

[RUDE PRAVO correspondents' report: "Extraordinary Party Congress Opened"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondents)— An extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] is meeting in Prague under the slogan "For a Democratic Socialist Society." Its task is to establish conditions for the CPCZ's renewal and transformation into a modern political party devoid of Stalinist deformations. On the agenda is an assessment of the draft action program and a major renewal of the central party bodies. Wednesday [20 December] evening, the congress elected by secret ballot from several candidates the party chairman and the first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. By a majority of votes, Ladislav Adamec was elected party chairman and Vasil Mohorita first secretary of the party's Central Committee (we will return to the details of these elections in tomorrow's issue).

The congress is held in the Palace of Culture and began on Wednesday at 0900. After the Czechoslovak national anthem was played, the congress was opened by Comrade Karel Urbanek. [passage omitted]

Statutes Abolished

At the outset of the deliberations, the delegates unanimously annulled the existing party statutes. The subsequent election of a working Presidium was accompanied by disagreements and clashes of opinions. Delegates were speaking mostly from the floor, with some of them demanding the resignation of all former members of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. As was stated by Ondrej Saling, who chaired the session at that moment, the sharp criticism of the Central Committee and the Presidium is justified. This is also why only 18 comrades of the former members and candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee were elected as delegates to the extraordinary congress at district conferences. Of the 51 members of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, only 2 are participating in the congress.

O. Saling told the delegates that of the 1,618 delegates with a full vote, 1,530 are present at the congress. Of the 26 delegates with an advisory vote, 2 are not present. There are also 169 guests at the congress.

At a news conference held at noon, Josef Hora, spokesman for the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, told journalists that of the delegates present (88 failed to turn up) 1,090 are of Czech nationality, 398 of Slovak nationality, 26 of Hungarian nationality, 10 of Russian or Ukrainian nationality, 5 of Polish nationality, and 1 of another nationality. A total of 616 delegates (40 percent) are in the 41-50 age bracket, roughly one-half of the delegates joined the CPCZ in the years 1971-80. There are 478 workers among the delegates to the congress, 119 agricultural workers and members of united agricultural cooperatives, 222 technical and economic staff, 31 scientists, 31 artists, 37 physicians, 112 teachers, 5 students, and 44 old-age pensioners. Approximately 43 percent of delegates are university graduates.

Of the 49 members of the Democratic Forum of Communists who had been invited, 36 turned up. Another 3 are among the elected delegates to the extraordinary congress.

Some party members who had been unjustly expelled from the ranks of the CPCZ in the course of the 1970 screenings are also present.

After an exchange of opinions on the composition of the working Presidium which lasted almost 1 hour, the delegates approved the originally proposed composition with a few additions. [passage omitted] These included Ladislav Adamec, delegate to the congress. One of the proposed members of the working Presidium refused to work in it. Thereupon the working Presidium started its work.

Approval of the Agenda

The next item under discussion was the working agenda of the congress. The delegates approved the following agenda of the congress proceedings:

1. Report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium to the Extraordinary CPCZ Congress

2. Address by a representative of the Democratic Forum of Communists

3. Report of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission

4. Discussion

5. Election of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, and the RUDE PRAVO editorial board

6. Discussion and approval of congress documents.

Delegate A. Cerny proposed a change of principle to the agenda by demanding that the congress also decide the question of whether to set up a Communist Party of the Czech Socialist Republic. It was announced that this issue would be discussed by delegates from the Czech Socialist Republic after the Extraordinary CPCZ Congress.

The first part of the deliberations was characterized by a certain organizational confusion, arising from the new, very democratic conditions of conducting them. [passage omitted]

On the Rules of Procedure and Election Rules

A stormy discussion revolved also around the rules of procedure and the election rules. Major changes took place on the basis of this discussion. It was decided, at the proposal of M. Slouf from Prague, that the office of the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee would be abolished and a new post of the party chairman would be set up, one who would lead Communists toward the free elections, as well as that of a first secretary, who would be in charge of internal party life. It

was decided that both office holders would be elected directly by the congress, by secret ballot from several candidates (which was to happen late Wednesday evening). It was decided by a vote, furthermore, that the minimum period of membership in the CPCZ would be abolished when electing members of new bodies and officials. The decision on the number of members of the new CPCZ Central Committee was left up to the electoral commission.

The discussion also concerned RUDE PRAVO and its new editorial board. [passage omitted] The majority of delegates expressed themselves in favor of RUDE PRAVO being managed by a 30-member editorial board made up of delegates and guests of the extraordinary congress. [passage omitted] On the recommendation of delegates from the South Moravia region, the drafting commission was charged with drawing up a statement condemning the intervention against demonstrators in Romania.

The report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium was delivered by Comrade Karel Urbanek (we publish it on page 3). The next to speak was Lubos Belka on behalf of the Democratic Forum of Communists (his address is published elsewhere in this issue).

Report of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission

Josef Trmala, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, said that the commission welcomed the convening of the extraordinary congress. The congress should unite the party's ranks and introduce order into the party leadership. It must restore our shaken confidence in our own strength and potentials. [passage omitted]

He said that since 17 November 66,290 members returned their members cards. At the same time, the party has been reinforced in this difficult period by 1,411 new and 250 former party members.

The CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission checked on the conduct of the party's economic affairs. The overall development can be characterized as greatly uneven. Emphasis was placed on the payment of membership dues as the crucial source of income. This represented Kcs1.2 billion a year. On the other hand, due to megalomania, pressure on costs has been constantly growing. [passage omitted] Owing to inconsistent legal settlement of property issues in the past 20 years, a situation has come about in which most buildings of CPCZ Secretariats and facilities are not the property of the party but of the state. This immovable property is now being gradually taken away from the party. A number of district and regional CPCZ committees have thus found themselves in a difficult situation. At present the party owns only its recreational centers. The party's property, including all other assets [besides immovable property], amounted to Kcs3.7 billion effective 31 October 1989. [passage omitted]

Comrade Trmala said, furthermore, that the Central Control and Auditing Commission endorses the proposal that the valid scale of membership dues be lowered. However, this will require a substantial limitation of expenditures and the search for new sources of income so that the party is capable of meeting political and organizational tasks.

The Start of Debate

The congress then continued with the debate. [passage omitted]

Karel Benes responded in his statement to Karel Urbanek's address. He said that in the report Urbanek had dodged the issue of the Central Committee's activity after 17 November and since his election [as general secretary]. According to Karel Benes, Karel Urbanek's first speech was gratifying. It was followed by mistakes, however, such as his address at the nationwide aktiv of Communists, his statements on the People's Militia, and so forth. He also reproached K. Urbanek for not having interfered during the Congress of United Agricultural Cooperative when the delegates gave a hostile reception to a representative of the Civic Forum. He also said that the general secretary could have submitted to the congress more radical proposals because he knew the people from the former party leadership and the Central Committee.

K. Benes declared that many people have left the party because of the confused course of action of the Central Committee under Karel Urbanek's leadership. In his statement he then put forward several demands. They concerned, in particular, the immediate abolition of the People's Militia, the departure of CPCZ primary organizations from places of work, and the enforcement of a law banning the activity of political parties at places of work. He called for the resignation of those members of the former CPCZ Central Committee and of those Federal Assembly deputies for the CPCZ who do not have a clean record, as he put it. [passage omitted]

Similar views were expressed in the discussion by Jana Kozarova, who also spoke appreciatively of Karel Urbanek's first address, but described his subsequent speeches as a manifestation of discrepancy between words and deeds. [passage omitted]

Ladislav Adamec said in his statement that our party's best traditions have always been associated with its struggle to win the majority of the nation. Is it possible to give up this aim once and for all or is it better to delay its declaration until a more suitable time comes? I do not consider this to be either to be right and honest. Quite the reverse. Our duty is to take the lead in the struggle for national understanding. To come to terms with this role—which, why not say it, is difficult and ungrateful—words about good intentions will not do. People will believe us only on the basis of deeds. There were quite a few of them in the past, but we will not make do with the past today. All the more so as we have to overcome plenty of distrust—both warranted and unwarranted. I

consider as crucial the conduct of an authentic and open dialogue without any ulterior motives, conditions, sophistry, and excuses.

He said, furthermore, that preparations for elections will begin in society, which will produce new legislative bodies. Much more will be at stake this time than the mere redistribution of seats for a 5-year period. We must quickly get ready for such a struggle—by selecting candidates, formulating a comprehensible program, and conducting effective agitation. Let us also be prepared for it that our deputies will no longer be the mere executors of party policy but important shapers of this policy. Where do I see the main political problems?

First of all, it is necessary to become absolutely clear about our standing in society. We are no longer the ruling party and we also have no intention of being an opposition party. It is not for the sake of narrow party interests but for the sake of national interests that we favor the combining of responsibility on the top with political pressure from below. We also cannot go into the elections isolated, without allies, but rather we must go as a part of some sort of a left-wing coalition.

In conclusion, he said that the view can be heard that the present crisis is a crisis of socialism and that it supposedly cannot be overcome within its framework. I am deeply convinced that this is not the case. The basic values of the liberation of man, safeguarding his human rights, and ensuring material and spiritual conditions for his comprehensive development in a highly efficient, effectively run, socially equitable, and humanistic society have lost none of their attractiveness. However, we bear witness to a serious discrepancy between this claim and the present popular mood. Why is the view to be heard so often that the term socialism has nothing or only very little to say at present or to the new generations? Many people express in this way their disagreement with the deformations and illegal or unjust practices which used to be committed in the name of socialism. Some people refuse to reflect on what is and what is not socialist because they do not deem it necessary to give preference to one system over the other. The fresh data of the Institute for Public Opinion Research are worth pondering, according to which 53 percent of citizens believe in the implementation of something which combines the advantages of socialism and capitalism, 40 percent see their prospects in socialism, and only 3 percent in capitalism. These facts alone show that the talk about the bell having tolled for socialism in Czechoslovakia is built on quicksand. If we quickly succeed in giving Czechoslovak society a modern shape, one corresponding to the end of this century, we may witness a renaissance of its ideals. Without illusions, embellishments, and simplification, but with confidence in their justification and feasibility. [passage omitted]

Pavol Kanis, member of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Executive Committee, provided information on the results of the Extraordinary CPSL Congress. He said that only 3 of the 93 members of the new CPSL Central Committee were members of the previous Central Committee and that the CPSL Executive Committee, whose members have an average age of 35, does not include even one of the members of the previous CPSL Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat.

P. Kanis further put across the conviction that all currents which are in the party can operate within the party, without any labels showing which of them is progressive and which not. The concept of the party's work must be shaped accordingly. The draft of the CPSL Action Program and the other documents adopted by the CPSL Congress create a greater scope for this than the Democratic Forum of Communists in its programmatic documents.

P. Kanis described as another cardinal problem the place of the CPSL within the united CPCZ. The CPSL avows its allegiance to a united CPCZ, but an end must be put to bureaucratic centralism, by means of which the highest elected CPSL bodies used to be circumvented. The draft statutes that are available respect this demand.

As for the transfer of the party's work to street organizations, he said that this is a gradual process. [passage omitted]

Vasil Mohorita's Speech

Several speakers in the debate demanded in their remarks delivered from the floor that members of the party leadership render an account of their conduct over the past weeks.

In his speech Vasil Mohorita reacted also to this demand.

"I can say that I was doing what I had been doing the whole year and for the past 10, 15, or—in fact, when I add everything up—20 years. Being a youth functionary, I was among young people." He said that he regarded work among them as the main task. He admitted that, in view of the past practices, he had regarded the people with whom he now sits at one table as enemies. This is true of most of us. At the same time representatives of the Obroda [Revival] club, for example, share the same views with us on a number of issues. This is true of C. Cisar, for example, and others. This is a peculiar situation for every Communist, with which many are unable to come to terms, failing to understand that the times have changed. There is no way back. This is not only a question of the CSSR. It is a question of all forces struggling for a socialism that is genuinely for the people—not in the language of documents but by deeds.

"On 17 November I was among students. And what was I doing this past month? I have been doing everything within my powers for us to be able to meet at least in this way in this hall and to look each other in the eye and honestly and frankly say what it was that prevented us from being in a different situation from the one in which we are now." Many mistakes were the product of the party's bureaucratization. Today bureaucratism affects

even the primary party organizations in plants. Being accustomed to receiving instructions, they do not know what to do today. However, the congress cannot adopt a guideline stating where there should be party organizations at places of work and where not. One must proceed from the conditions of each place.

New Letter of the Democratic Forum of Communists [DFC] to the Congress

A representative of the electoral commission presented the standpoint of the DFC [passage omitted]

In a letter to the delegates to the extraordinary congress, the DFC criticized the working Presidium of the congress for the fact that DFC members who are attending the congress as guests do not have access to the microphones and the chance to react in the form of factual remarks [to other statements] and that only one DFC member was allowed to address the congress. The letter states, furthermore, that to this day the DFC has no influence on the formulation of programmatic and other important documents. The letter from the DFC described as the main tasks of the congress:

—passing a vote of no confidence in the existing CPCZ Central Committee and Central Control and Auditing Commission,

—truthful and complete information on the course of the roundtable talks and the course of action of the CPCZ Central Committee leadership at these talks,

—the disbandment of the present apparatus at all levels and the formation of a new apparatus based on the will of the party's membership base, making use of competitive bidding for jobs,

—to this day, youth have been regarded as the mere helper of the party or its reserve pool. We insist that it should become an active co-shaper of party policy and a factor influencing social processes. We therefore demand an expanded participation by young people in the work of CPCZ bodies,

—we believe that it is wrong to first elect party bodies at the congress and only then discuss the program. This creates the impression that an old play with a new cast could be involved,

—we reaffirm our demand for the publication of information on the party's budget and the use of its property as a background material for decisions on its utilization for needs of society as a whole,

—we propose that the guarantee be anchored in the CPCZ's provisional organizational order of a genuine pluralism of views, platforms, and currents within the party. We continue to hope that this approach will already become manifested in the course of this extraordinary congress. We have come to conduct a dialogue and not to break up the party. We once again advance the offer of our part in the formulation of programmatic documents and, above all, of work that will lead the party out of its present crisis.

Congress delegate Comrade Ruzickova recommended that DFC representatives who attend the congress as guests be provided with background materials and that they present their views in writing to the respective commissions. The congress accepted this proposal. [passage omitted]

Over 400 Proposals for the New Central Committee

Peter Weiss proposed on behalf of the drafting commission that the elections of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission and of the RUDE PRAVO editorial board be deferred until Thursday [21 December] because they are not adequately prepared. He said, furthermore, that 460 proposals for members of the new CPCZ Central Committee have come together, which is a lot. In the interest of an equal distribution, every district or municipal district ought to have one delegate. He proposed, moreover, that, in view of the large number of Communists in Brno and Ostrava, their organizations should be able to put forward two candidates. An additional four candidate-soldiers can be put forward by districts with the largest concentration of troops. A place in the new body must also be reserved for those Communists from the present CPCZ Central Committee who enjoy general respect and the DFC, too, can field its candidates. [passage omitted]

Replies to Delegates' Questions

Rudolf Hegenbart then explained his responsibility as head of the CPCZ Central Committee department, within the jurisdiction of which were, inter alia, the security forces, for the intervention against demonstrators. He said that throughout this year he worked, together with workers of the scientific front, on standpoints on how to deal with the political situation. They submitted their proposals in March, June, and August, but these were not accepted. Together with his fellow workers, he published a number of articles on the issue of the party's activation. In this spirit, he also spoke at the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Karel Urbanek, too, replied to numerous questions from delegates. He first reacted to the question on what the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has been doing after the second extraordinary Central Committee session. It dealt, among other things, with cadre issues. Two Central Committee secretaries were released, which weakened the party leadership. This also had a certain impact on the performance of the remaining staffers.

Apart from the matters set out in the report, the cars of the ministry of interior and personal protection of members of the Central Committee Presidium were abolished. Also abolished was the use of passenger cars for former members of the Central Committee Presidium who are retired. The Presidium also requested of the premier that he abolish the personal pensions granted to

former members of the party's Central Committee Presidium. An agreement was concluded with the party's Central Committee secretaries about a cut in their pay and purchases by individuals in the special food shop have been abolished.

K. Urbanek also reported on his activity at the time around 17 November. Between 16 and 18 November, he was in Spain to attend the funeral of D. Ibarruri and the next day he departed for the Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. After 2 days there he returned to Czechoslovakia. After his election as general secretary, he therefore was not accurately oriented in the situation.

Replying to questions about his former activity, K. Urbanek said that as head of the CPCZ Central Committee Political Organization Department he and other Central Committee department heads had processed all comments made at district party conferences, including those concerning all former members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretaries who had held their posts since 1969. At a consultative meeting of the heads of Central Committee departments with the general secretary in September 1988, K. Urbanek raised the question, inter alia, in which way the aforementioned comments would be handled, in view of the approaching date of district party conferences. As regards the first extraordinary session of the party, he was among those who had called attention to the inevitability of changes of principle in the Central Committee Presidium.

K. Urbanek also responded to the question of why the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic [of which he was chairman] had expressed its agreement with the intervention by order-enforcing units [on 17 November] and with the course of action of the then-party Presidium. "While I was leaving to attend a meeting of the Club of [Communist] Deputies in the Czech National Council, the discussion in the committee was still underway. I can say that what is stated [in the statement of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic] was being asserted by Comrade Kempny in my absence." He furnished documentary evidence of his contention.

Asked why in its statement of 20 November the CSSR Government did not dissociate itself from the police action of 17 November 1989, Ladislav Adamec said that the Government did not avail itself of accurate information because at that time the Ministry of Interior was supervised directly by the CPCZ Central Committee. In spite of this, he requested that the CSSR prosecutor general investigate the matter.

Concerning the unsuccessful reconstruction of the federal government of 3 December he said that, even while setting it up, he expressed himself in favor of its complementation. When he found out, however, that people are being proposed for the government who have different ideas about the country's economic development, he asked to be released from the post of premier. I consider it to be the right of every head of government to choose the people with whom he wants to cooperate, Ladislav Adamec said. [passage omitted]

After the report of the mandate commission, the electoral commission acquainted the delegates with the candidates for the posts of CPCZ chairman and first secretary. The final list of candidate included Comrades Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Mohorita, Evzen Prusa, and Karel Urbanek. The same comrades also figured on the list of candidates for the post of first secretary. The delegates then proceeded to take the ballot.

The congress continues on Thursday.

CTK Gives Adamec Biography

LD2112023489 Prague CTK in English 0007 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 20 (CTK)—Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, was born on September 10, 1926 in Frenstat Pod Radhostem, North Moravia, in a miner's family.

He became a planner. In 1958-1960 he was a director of an electrical engineering plant in Frenstat and in 1963-1969 was head of a Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee department.

He has been a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party since 1946. In 1966 he became a member of the party Central Committee.

From January 1969 till June 1986 he held the post of Czech deputy premier. From 1987 till 1989 he was member of the party Presidium. From 1987 till 1989 he was appointed Czech premier, from 1987 till 1988 Czechoslovak deputy premier and from October 1988 till December 1989 Czechoslovak premier.

CTK Gives Mohorita Biography

LD2112023789 Prague CTK in English 0009 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 20 (CTK)—Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the party Central Committee, was born on September 19, 1952 in Prague in a clerk's family. In 1968-1971 he learned to be a mechanic. He has been a Communist Party member since 1970, an activist of the youth movement. 1986-1987 he was chairman of the Socialist Youth Union Czech Central Committee and vice-chairman of the Socialist Youth Union Czechoslovak Central Committee. From March 1986 till April 1988 he was Communist Party Central Committee alternate member. From October 1987 till November 1989 he was Socialist Youth Union Central Committee chairman. Since 1987 he has been National Front Central Committee Presidium member, since April 1988 Communist Party Central Committee member, from April 1988 to November 24, 1989 Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat member and since November 25, 1989 he has been Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat member.

Adamec, Mohorita Positions, Duties

LD2112111989 Prague CTK in English 0106 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 20 (CTK)—The extraordinary congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party elected Ladislav Adamec chairman of the party and Vasil Mohorita first secretary of the Party Central Committee in a secret ballot today.

Ladislav Adamec was elected by 59.5 per cent of votes and Vasil Mohorita by 57.1 per cent of votes.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party chairman will represent the party in relations to political partners in Czecoslovakia, while the first secretary will deal with inner-party activities.

CPSL Congress Results Viewed

AU2712092789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Jan Siroky, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPSL) Executive Committee, and Pavol Kanis and Peter Weiss, members of the CPSL Executive Committee, by Nada Adamickova and Igor Sirota in Prague on 19 December: "Only a Modern Political Party Has a Chance"]

[Text] Prague (from our own correspondents)— The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Press Center has temporarily changed its address as of Tuesday [19 December]. It is now in the Palace of Culture in Prague where the extraordinary CPCZ congress begins today. The first guests at the press center on Tuesday evening were Jan Siroky, chairman of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Executive Committee, and Pavol Kanis and Peter Weiss, members of the CPSL Executive Committee, who spoke about the results of the extraordinary CPSL congress. We asked then to reply to a few questions.

[Question] The CPSL wants to be—according to its Action Program—a modern political party. What does this mean?

[Answer] This means, in particular, a pluralism of views within the party. Similarly, it means a thorough purge of any kind of Stalinist sediment, a sediment that existed in party statutes just as in internal party life. A radical organizational change to the whole structure is associated with this. Then the party will be the kind of party the membership base wants.

[Question] In the final documents from the congress of Slovak Communists there is mention of a CPSL Central Committee consultative and advisory center. What are you promising by this?

[Answer] Its fundamental function lies, first and foremost, in ensuring that all information, suggestions, and complaints along with proposals—mainly, from primary organizations—reach the Central Committee and that this organ reacts to them. Obviously, it will also have an advisory-legal form. In view of the fact that the party's leading role has been abolished, numerous people have been released from their posts. The right to work and social certainties have not been completely guaranteed for many party members. The center should help our comrades in its own way. The center will also have a specific information function; this means it will organize news conferences, provide information on what is happening in the CPSL, and report on the Executive Committee's activity.

[Question] It proceeds from your program that the party is striving for a dialogue with political forces and striving to establish a platform for consolidating views in the people's interest. What are we to make of this?

[Answer] First and foremost, we have to part ways with bureaucratic centralism which identified itself with democratic centralism. This especially involved the command system when initiative from below was bureaucratically suppressed and restricted. We want to continue to be a mass party and, therefore, we are seeking organizational and other ways toward flexibly knitting together various idea streams within the party.

[Question] What kind of streams are these?

[Answer] This is a stream, in particular, which has a single program and which will acquit itself well in social development, a stream which was also adopted at the congress. The remaining streams, from the radical left to a more right-wing platform, have not been comprehensively formulated.

For example, at the congress, one fifth of the delegates were of the opinion that the party should not change; it should only renew itself morally and in its cadre policy. Some other delegates acknowledged the ideas of the Democratic Forum of Communists. Extremist and fractional approaches manifested themselves; however, they did not find any support.

[Question] You have the experiences of the extraordinary congress behind you. What do they suggest for the proceedings in Prague?

[Answer] There has been a radical change to the CPSL Central Committee where out of 93 members only three "former" members are left. Everyone in the 11-member Executive Committee is new. Radical cadre changes were one of the congress' three tasks. Another one was a purge of those who brought about the current situation. The main one was confirmation of the party's viability. This has been confirmed by the congress. The CPSL's Action Program has also been confirmed. This will certainly serve as a starting point at the CPCZ congress. The whole party needs an Action Program. A fundamental issue which the extraordinary CPCZ congress will have to resolve is the radical change to the Central committee. In its new position, the party needs to elevate new types of political personalities, personalities who

can come to terms with a completely new style of work. Only in this way will the CPCZ not enter into elections without a chance.

Democratic Forum of Communists 'Dissatisfied'

LD2112233689 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] A little while ago a press spokesman from the Democratic Forum of Communists came to the studio to announce its stance on the CPCZ extraordinary congress session.

[Begin unidentified spokesman recording] The world has not come to an end yet, but one can say the following: There is considerable dissatisfaction in the Democratic Forum of Communists with the proceedings of the congress and with the form of deliberations—the television viewers can see this for themselves on the screen—and to a considerable extent with the results of the elections. The dissatisfaction exists both in Prague and in other towns and in the countryside. However, there are also some positive moments, I must say. First, the congress has accelerated the differentiation of views, which will evidently speed up the differentiation of views in the whole party and this is one of primary prerequisites for introducing democracy in the party. Second, by adopting new organizational statutes—the old Statutes were abolished—better conditions have been created for the work of the Democratic Forum of Communists and for other prospective platforms. The documents respects the right of the minority, it creates an opportunity for the work of various platforms, so that we can hope that a new generation, so to speak, of political personalities in the future will be gradually growing within the party.

I must also say that we, ourselves, are leaving the congress enlightened, for example on this issue: We can see how complex the situation in the CPCZ apparatus is, for example. Now we can see that by the long-term policy of the old leadership these employees have been pushed into the corner, too and that it will be necessary to think over their social protection and the just solution to their problems.

Lastly, a very important thing. We assume that the Congress will not meet the notions of the party public and it is possible that this will evoke a certain new wave of returning party cards. On behalf of the Democratic Forum of Communists, we wish to tell those, who intend to do this, to give it yet further serious consideration and irrespective of the decision they make, we will be very pleased to welcome them in the Democratic Forum of Communists and we will strive to create conditions for mutual cooperation. [end recording]

Federal Assembly To Elect President 29 Dec

LD2612225389 Prague CTK in English 1628 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 26 (CTK)—After the presidential election at Prague Castle on December 29, the new president will deliver a short speech to be followed by the national anthem, accompanied by a 20-gunshot salute, the Office of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly announced today.

Part of the election ceremony will be a military parade at the castle and a mass celebrated in the St Vitus Cathedral with the new president and the participants in the Federal Assembly session attending.

Calfa Presents Government Policy Statement

AU2112143289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 89 p 2

["Policy Statement of the Czechoslovak Government" presented by CSSR Premier M. Calfa at CSSR Federal Assembly session in Prague on 19 December]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Chairman of the Federal Assembly, esteemed deputies. On behalf of the CSSR Government, I want to inform you about selected main principles of the Federal Government's program. We are putting forward these principles on the basis of the general demand for democratic openness of the government's work, conscious of the government's responsibility toward the Federal Assembly and as an expression of the efforts to find mutual confidence between individual political currents.

The present federal government was born as a government of national accord. It has become a part of the efforts to overcome the exceptionally profound political crisis which culminated in the people's discontent with the policy of the regime, which failed to implement human rights. Strikes and demonstrations became a referendum which resulted within a few days in the collapse of a system which had tried to convince itself, the people, and the world that it represented precisely the expression of the interests of the Czech and Slovak nations. The reality was, of course, that the people, after bitter experiences of the past years, arrived at a different view. And one cannot rule against the will of the people, or to put it better, one cannot rule for a long time and in no case can one rule justly.

The government of national accord was set up on the basis of talks between political forces associated in the National Front and the most important civic initiatives in which the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence enjoy the greatest authority. The government is more than a compromise, mutual concessions of opposing demands. At its basis is an unequivocal consensus, an accord on the fundamental principles on the administration of public affairs for the immediate period.

The political forces which met earlier at the roundtable and later in the new government hold the united view that in the deepening crisis we cannot permit the collapse of Czechoslovak statehood and that we can, and indeed must, restore our statehood on democratic foundations. From this unanimous conviction of all forces combined today in the CSSR Government there also emerges the notion of two principal tasks which the Federal Government must ensure.

The first task is elections to representatives bodies while the second one is not merely to secure a smooth running of the economy but also to speed up transition toward dynamizing economic development.

Esteemed deputies of the Federal Assembly, the government of national accord has assumed its share of responsibility for our society along with the obligation that its task will be discharged by free elections which will gauge the will of the people better than talks at a roundtable.

To ensure free elections is a double task but at the same time the sole [dvojjedinna] task. It means creating the political and legislative conditions for such elections. We regard the prime requirement in the political field as having been decided irreversibly. Nothing can deter Czechoslovakia from the path to a democratic political regime on which it has embarked. The people's participation in the administration of the state, the division between legislative, executive, and judiciary powers, the observation of laws—all of this we regard as the pillars of the functioning of the state mechanism.

We must, however, still create just conditions for all political forces in the newly emerging civic society and choose the date of the elections to enable all of them to have an equal opportunity to build their organizational structure, to formulate their programs, and to inform the public about them. To secure these demands in the conditions of a legal state means in the first place to give them the shape of democratic laws.

I am pleased to be able to report to you that all legislative organs of the federal government have speeded up work on civic rights legislation. They understand it is their role and duty to express in the laws the humanistic ideals of democracy and all internationally adopted obligations in the field of human and civic rights. We envision that either in January or February of next year the government will submit to the Federal Assembly draft laws on association, assembly, political parties, the right of petition, amendment of the press law, and others. We also envision that within the same period the government will also submit a new election law which will ensure elections to representative bodies on the principles of general, equal, and direct election right of citizens in a secret ballot within the framework of the system of a completely pluralist democracy.

The program of amending the criminal code presupposses a further partial amendment which will concern primarily acts which constitute criminal offences against the republic cited in the first chapter of the special section of the criminal code. The amendment will create the legal guarantees that will make it impossible to prosecute citizens for expressing their political views, religious beliefs, and, in general, for asserting their civic rights.

Where criminal proceedings are concerned, the amendment will strengthen the position of the defendent. Within the framework of this amendment the government will propose, as an alternative, a change in some provisions of the penal law which will be a prerequisite for abolishing the death penalty. Work on the draft amendment will be completed in February of next year.

After the planned legislation changes comes work on a draft new constitution. According to the original announcements of the previous government, the draft new constitution should be put forward for discussion by the people by the beginning of next year. From the purely technical point of view, the deadline could not be kept. However, the government is of the opinion that the new constitution should not be approved under conditions of rapid change in the republic's political and legal system. The constitution is the most important law of the state, the foundation stone of the entire legal system and because of this it must be stable. Rapid and frequent amendments to the constitution reduce the effectiveness of the whole legal order. A stable constitution can only be adopted under stable social and political conditions. For this reason the government has halted work on the constitution. It is expected to continue during the course of next year.

The dynamic changes which are taking place in our society at present are being positively reflected in the relations between the state, the churches, and citizens-believers. A fundamental change in the constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the abolition of the monopoly position of the Marxist-Leninist world view is creating totally new conditions for the realisation of all needs and interests of citizens-believers. In our society there will be no more limitation of religious beliefs, the activity of the church, or discrimination against believing citizens. The government is aware that through their activity the churches help to form civic responsibility.

For this reason, the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, together with the participation of representatives of churches and religious organizations, will prepare and put to the Federal Assembly a draft new law on freedom of religion and on religious societies. This law will also be in harmony not only with the constitution, but also with the adopted international obligations.

Even before the adoption of this new law on freedom of religion, the government will in January or February put to the Federal Assembly a proposal to rescind the provision of law no. 218 of 1949, which requires state agreement for spiritual activity. At the same time, the government recognizes that religious orders were not legally

disbanded and that they can act publicly and develop their calling, particularly in the spheres of health and social services. The government considers participation by the church in the media as a matter of course.

The action by the security forces in Prague this year shook the citizens' trust in the organs of the Nation Security corps. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic believes that the independent commission of the Federal Assembly and the organs of the Prosecutor's Office will successfully complete their investigations into the brutal action against demonstrators on 17 November and will expose those who bear responsibility for this action.

At the same time the government has taken and is taking a number of steps to make future misuse of the security forces against the people of this country impossible. On the basis of an agreement reached at the roundtable discussions, the Federal Ministry of the Interior is today headed by the premier of the government together with the two first deputy premiers. They are considering fully adjusting the activity of the Federal Ministry of the Interior to the new social conditions and to create from the organs of this ministry a part of the state administration based on democratic principles, as the primary task in this area.

Today we can inform you that the operational activity of the National Security Corps in the internal intelligence sector has been halted. Some personnel changes have taken place and the internal structure of the ministry apparatus is changing. I would, however, like to emphasize here, that the majority of members of the National Security Corps entered the force with the conviction that they wish to and will serve their homeland, that they will protect the interest of the citizens and of the state. They still hold this conviction. They are carrying out their service duties honorably and with great expertise. The government values their services highly. It also wishes to express its support to honest members of the corps by creating guarantees to ensure that no one will be able in the future to misuse their discipline and subordination to the command.

No less significant democratization processes are taking place today within the Czechoslovak People's Army. In recent days its members showed that they are with the people of this country. A new approach to service duties, directly according to service policy, under the direct management of the new government is being implemented in the army.

The National Security Corps and the Czechoslovak People's Army aim to become a support for the democratic political regime and in doing this they are not losing their action capability which is vital for the functioning of the state at any time. Any unsubstantiated pressure on members of the security forces and the army is, in its consequences, pressure on the state and thus makes more difficult the work of the government of national understanding in securing the defense of the state and protection of basic rights, health, and property of the citizens. As all elements of the political system have expressed confidence in the government, I appeal to them to help the government in this area also to ensure that uncontrollable developments do not take place. I also appeal to all citizens of our republic with the plea that they give the government full support in this effort.

The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is aware of the importance of good relations between the nations and nationalities within our republic. Although the nationalities problem is reflected mainly in the activity and components of the governments of the republic, the federal government wishes to give this problem great attention and it will set up its own consultative organ to secure its activity in this area.

Esteemed deputies! The economic section of the government statement proceeds from the new historical situation which has arisen in the CSSR after 17 November 1989, and also from the critical analysis of the hitherto development of the Czechoslovak economy over the past 50 years. The government is aware of the fact that, from the viewpoint of its temporary mandate up to the free elections, it must formulate its program first and foremost for this brief period. However, it also proceeds from its awareness of the duty to submit basic outlines of economic strategy for a longer period.

The government's economic program intends to make a principled and consistent departure from the principle of running the economy which prevailed in our country in the past decades. This system has demonstrably failed, and this is evident mainly in comparing the features of our economic development with the development of most advanced industrialized countries—of which we were undoubtedly a part in the period between the wars. The government notes that a considerable part of the inherited national wealth has been wasted. The future generations are already bearing the brunt of devastated environment, of equipment, infrastructures, and housing stock which are becoming obsolete. The Czechoslovak economy has not caught up with the arrival of a number of modern products and technologies.

On the background of this critical view the government regards, however, the present state of the economy realistically. It intends to release its hidden potentials, which have so far not been able to manifest themselves. The considerable production potential can be modernized and adjusted to the requirements of both the domestic and the foreign market. The overwhelming majority of people are longing for creative activity, with the results of which they could be proud. So far they have frequently seen unforgivable wastefulness, even with regard to their own talents.

The government is also aware of the fact that some of the relative successes were often paid for by the enormous devotion of our people, who, despite the ruling economic

system, offered the society the best they had. The government is therefore convinced that it is precisely these characteristics of the people, their creative imagination, their entrepreneurial [podnikatelsky] spirit, and their intrinsic need to work, which represent the biggest source. The government intends to fully develop this common treasure of ours and to create all the conditions necessary for it to yield benefits. This represents the basis for our optimism and the starting condition or a radical turn in the economic development.

The long-term economic objective of the government of national accord is to prepare the transfer toward a market economy, because it is only that which is able to ensure the streamlining of the economy, the raising of the population's standard of living, and a sensible utilization of natural resources. We cannot afford to experiment with an economic system which has not been tested and which is based on the combination of principles, the very compatibility [slucitelnost] of which has never been demonstrated. We must accept the market economy with all of its advantages and all of its disadvantages. A market is based on the freedom of the people. Within the framework of valid laws which ensure equal rights for all, it grants to each individual an opportunity to be most beneficial for others by pursuing his own interests. The market is not an instrument of the government. On the contrary, the government is responsible for creating all the necessary framework conditions for its functioning. We fully acknowledge this long-term task.

Our present market is considerably deformed and the most important obstacle hampering its effective functioning is its containment with regard to the world and its monopoly nature. The government will therefore aim its efforts at removing, in the shortest possible time, the artificially created monopoly structures and privileges; it will exert pressure on producers and it will make consumers the beneficiaries of foreign competition. It will continue to prevent some from having more rights than others. The government will speedily commence the measures aimed at creating financial and capital markets. In long-range terms, it will aim its efforts at providing for all producers free access to all commodities, finances, capital, and labor markets as well as free exit from these markets. The government will put forward the measures required for making equal all forms of ownership, because the market can effectively function only when it is obvious who bears full ownership responsibility for the economic activity and who is to receive the result of this activity.

The government considers the true opening of the Czechoslovak economy to the outside world as the key prerequisite for the success of radical economic reform. We are a small country, which must find its own place for its own economic integration into the world economy and, first and foremost, into the European economy. The openness has, on the whole, principled significance for developing our domestic market. We need competition, both domestic and foreign. The government will, therefore, aim its efforts in the near future at gradual, but not hesitant, reinstatement of the convertibility of the Czechoslovak currency and at creating a realistic exchange rate for the Koruna. Efforts will also be directed at the speedy joining by our country in the world and European economic institutions and organizations. We shall specify our attitude toward CEMA only after the radical changes within the framework of that organization, for which we are also pressing, have been carried out.

A modern market economy requires extensive and effective state intervention and for this we need state economic institutions with a high degree of professionalism.

The government will cease to protect individual producers to the detriment of society as a whole. It will cease to interfere in the day-to-day decisions of enterprises and citizens and will begin to do its real job. It will ensure general and equal conditions for all economic subjects. It wants to pursue an effective, macro-economic and anti-inflationary regulatory policy, prevent a disproportionate growth of outside debts, and strive for full and effective employment. The government will take care of everything that the market is unable to provide by itself in sufficient degree and in good quality, primarily public services, such as defense and security, infrastructure, environmental protection, education and health service.

Esteemed deputies, the government will assist in renewing purposefully and speedily the leading economic personnel. In doing this it will regard expertise as the sole criterion, irrespective of past or future political affiliation. The government is confident that the working people will succeed in overcoming this complicated period of partial confusion [zmatky] and improvisations and will assert in the subsequent stages of the reform of our economy their substantially higher participation not only in the management but also the ownership of enterprises.

In the course of this year a number of new rules have been established which predetermine the functioning of the economy after 1 January 1990. Although the government regards these rules as a step in the right direction it is nevertheless a step that is incomplete, not too consistent internally and consisting of unprincipled compromises. Despite all of this the government wants to make use of this base and add to it speedily further strategic measures in the directions that have been cited previously.

In the course of the first quarter of 1990 the government will enable the organizational units of state enterprises, including state farms, to become independent. At the same time it will propose to the Federal Assembly the necessary amendments of the law on state enterprises. It will immediately launch an initiative aimed at abolishing the existing monopolies, including regional ones and including wholesale, procurement, material and technological supplies areas, and in foreign trade activity. It will encourage both legislatively and financially the establishment of new cooperative and private

enterprises both domestic and foreign as well as foreign joint venture enterprises. It will make it possible legislatively for enterprises to transfer to the joint stock form of ownership and for possible foreign shareholders it will provide the guarantees that are customary in the world.

In the course of 1990 it will give the Federal Price Office a new agenda consisting of a state anti-monopoly policy and will draw up the basic concept and legislative norms in this area. It will begin a codificiation of the commercial law, including a law on joint stock companies taking due regard of worldwide customs and the amendment of the laws dealing with economic mechanism approved by the Federal Assembly during the past years. Gradually, depending on the creation of a competitive climate on individual markets and in connection with the supply and demand trend, prices formation will be loosened.

The government will prepare a state budget by 31 March 1990, which must have a distinctive anti-inflationary slant and which will begin a gradual process of reducing the volume of state finances.

The government will begin to further reduce expenditure on defense, security, state administration, social and political organizations, and reduce the whole range of capital and noncapital subsidies. At the same time the government will create for itself room for the financing of state retraining programs and social benefits which will necessarily grow commensurately with the intensification of structural changes in the national economy. The government regards it as essential to create an effective and modern taxation system with regard to taxes paid by enterprises and organizations as well as in the field ot taxes paid by the population. The turn-over tax will be fundamentally but gradually reformed. In the first stage its system will be simplified and the number of its rates will be reduced, and in the second stage there will be a switch over to a value-added tax complemented by a system of consumption taxes. The second stage will be carried out from 1993 at the earliest.

Work will start immediately on drafting on a new system of taxes paid by the population. This new system will be based on the taxation of all incomes of the population on the principles of uniformity and taxation justice, which means making taxation dependent on the size of incomes by taxing high incomes at propressively higher rates. Social aspects will be tackled in this system above all by the size of untaxed incomes and a system of allowances.

In the field of financial management of enterprises their independence, powers, and accountability will be strengtened fundamentally. Possibilities will be made available gradually for the full interchangability of the financial resources of enterprises. Financial management by enterprises will thus be regulated in principle only by taxation and credit policy.

During the first half of 1990 the government will carry out a fundamental revision of the still existing financial instruments influencing rational use of natural resources and against doing harm to the environment as well as a revision of the existing legal norms.

The government proceeds from the premise that the Czechoslovak state bank will control currency and credits policy according to laws adopted this year. It expects that the transfer toward a two-tier banking system will raise efficiency especially from the viewpoint of pressing for economic balance and rational allocation of credits. The government deems it necesary to regulate wages development, so that the balance on the domestic market, which exists in principle, would not be disturbed. It will investigate all major investment projects financed by the state budget with the objective to stop, or rather restrict demonstrably noneffective projects.

The government considers as a pressing task the publication of the regulations of conduct while instituting recovery programs for the noneffective enterprises, and on the contrary, while backing the enterprises with good prospects, by applying the possibility of granting temporary subsidies to them, or amending the terms of ownership and direct participation of foreign subjects, and so on. At the same time, in the course of the first 6 months of 1990, it will draw up a plan for effective conversion of the armament industry enterprises.

Food production will be consistently targeted at meeting the requirements of a healthy diet, at raising the fertility of soil, and at plant protection and animal breeding, while reducing the negative influence of agricultural production upon the environment.

The government deems it necessary to fundamentally change the management of foreign trade activity and its one-sided territorial orientation and commodity structure. In its approach toward the CEMA community the government will be pressing for a fundamental revision of the present mechanism of economic cooperation on the basis of market principles common in world trade. It is necessary to unify as soon as possible foreign currency exchange rates and put them on a more realistic basis as early as 1990. The foreign currency exchange rate must ever more reflect the relations between the offer of and the demand for foreign currency. In the sphere of foreign currency normatives we intend to proceed from the present system toward their unification, and parallel with this to expand the foreign currency market with the objective of transfer toward allocating hard currency exclusively through the foreign currency market. The government will exert intensive efforts aimed at renewing CSSR membership in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, at invigorating CSSR activity in GATT, and at resolving the problems at issue of the most favored nation status in trading with those countries where only these kinds of measures will promote further development of mutual trade relations. It will be creating all necessary conditions for the CSSR to gradually become their equal partner. In joining in the world economy, the CSSR will also be aiming at other regions, first and foremost at the American Continent and Southeast Asia.

The government will submit to the Federal Assembly a principle change of the law on national economic planning in the very near future. The government is at this moment unable to cancel the already approved 1990 plan, despite the fact that laid down in it are strong trends of inertia and some elements of imbalance. On the other hand, it expects that with regard to compiling a new 1990 state budget and in connection with the gradual demonopolization of our economy, it will be necessary to periodically amend some key indicators and conditions of this plan. The government will consistently follow the objective of maintaining the standard of living, of implementing anti-inflation policy, of pressing for full and effective employment, and developing social guarantees. Right from the very beginning it will be, by means of its entire economic strategy, creating conditions for the start of a permanent rise of the standard of living after a brief transition period.

Within the framework of implementing the policy of full and effective employment the government will create an effective retraining system aimed at accelerating structural changes. Similarly, it will back the creation of new jobs. The government will draw up a proposal for a significant expansion of free time of all working people, for example by extending holidays by another week or by reducing hours of work. For this the enterprises must create organizational conditions and wage funds. The government will support an increase in the number of jobs with reduced hours of work, especially for mothers. The government envisions an immediate start to work on simplifying the wages system and the shift of authority in the remuneration sphere to enterprises and organizations. In this respect we will support the forms of long-term economic incentive for the working people, for example an account [credited with sums saved as a result] of savings in workers and collectives, ownership of shares, and so on. The wage system will be renewed on a more frequent basis during the process of concluding agreements between the trade unions and employers with the participation of state bodies.

The government cannot allow a growth in wages which is not supported by a rise in productivity. In the transition period, therefore, we will only gradually depart from the principle of central wage regulation which we are forced to uphold because of its significant anti-inflationary effect. We will be implementing a more just social policy mainly by gradually replacing social subsidies contained in prices with active social payments which will be given only to those who are truly in need.

The government will propose a more just system of child benefit in such a way as to ensure that it contributes proportionately to the true expenditure on their upbringing. At the same time we wish to change the system of preschool care in such a way as to ensure that women with small children can stay at home.

The government will adjust old-age and other pensions according to changes in living expenses. In the very near future it will evaluate the justification for some personal pensions and some pension discrimination in such a way as to ensure that the overall demand on the state budget is not changed.

The government will introduce economically sound rents while preserving lower rents for those who are socially weak by giving support. In this way, it will contribute to reducing the barriers for the movement of the labor force.

The system of sickness insurance and pensions will be based on principles of fund management.

When developing care for the workers the government will make it possible for enterprises to undertake social services, for example recreation on a commercial basis with reductions for their own employees.

In cooperation with the national governments it will strive for an inexpensive conversion of a number of extra properties into hospitals, old people's homes, and so on.

A fundamental solution to the problems of the environment is already contained in the government's economic strategy. We expect a decrease in the importance of noneffective production in mining, in heavy industry, and in agriculture which is at the same time putting the greatest strain on the environment. The transition to the market mechanism, which is in its essence a saving in resources, will also bring results. Apart from this, by adjusting the norms the government will enforce the implementation of ecological viewpoints in every activity and a significant part of investment activity will be directed toward the environment.

At the same time the government will take measures for an immediate improvement in the quality of life by changing the system of health care, education, the organization of internal trade, housing, recreational care, and state administration. In this area it is possible with minimum expendidture or even while making savings, to markedly improve and reduce the cost of the way they function by ensuring that these systems are simplified and bureaucracy is removed. Similarly, it is possible to expect a certain fast improvement in the structure of goods on the market and the result of support for entreprenurial activity, including the breaking down of barriers to extending the private sector in the area of service and the production of consumer goods. The government will continue to take measures for the protection of the internal market.

The government's policy will provide a great opportunity and at the same time responsibility for the young and new generations. The social content of the economic program, however, strives for maximum justice for all. Every citizen must be responsible for his future and have the possibility of influencing it. The decisive thing for Czechoslovak society is the creation of conditions for the development and implementation of the abilities of all citizens. Everyone must be given equal conditions and equal social opportunities.

The federal government will, in cooperation with the governments of the republics, give extra attention in the coming period to the whole area of culture and art. Here also many problems have accumulated which it is necessary to speedily resolve. Our main goal will be to create room for freedom of artistic expresion, which could be reflected in high quality artistic creation. The government expects that in this area an important role will also be played by the newly formed artists unions. Legal norms in the area of culture must also become a guarantee of artistic freedom, just social security for all artists, and an impulse for the effective economic management of all cultural organizations and their agencies.

As well as these priority tasks, at the same time the government will be solving the problem of the material and technical infrastructure, which is greatly neglected, which is documented not only by the condition of historic buildings and concert halls, but also the quality of technical equipment in theaters, museums, art galleries, in Czechoslovak television and Czechoslovak radio.

We understand the education standard of society to be one of the most valuable properties of our nations and nationalities. It is also the personal treasure of every individual. A correctly functioning education system is one of the prerequisites of a correctly functioning economy and progressive development of the whole of society. For this reason it is necessary to give continued attention to its material and technical provision. In the very near future it will be necessary to spend more on the development of education than in the past. It is necessary to return a creative and stimulating atmosphere into schools, which will ensure a full development of the personality. Pupils and students must learn with the knowledge that they will make use of their studies in life. That is the only way our education can regain the respect of society.

A current task is to prepare for the discussion and adoption of a law on universities. It is a fundamental condition for the renewal of democratic life and the successful work of universities. This law will, above all, secure the availability of education to all able candidates regardless of their world view and political conviction and will extend the possibility of pedagogical, scientific, and artistic activity in universities. Those who are graduating from schools and colleges must be properly and professionally trained, with good moral qualities, with a deep and real attitude to their country, and with an interest in democraic ideals.

Esteemed deputies of the Federal Assembly. The restoration of the basis of the democratic system in Czechoslovakia is also opening up new possibilities for its foreign policy. The new concept and practical implmentation of human rights in internal policy contributes to changing Czechoslovakia from a brake on integration processes to one of the initiators of the Helsinki process and of the democratization of international relations. Nothing can prevent us today from making our own national interests the basis of foreign policy, the content of which is given by the organic connection of democratic traditions of our country and the protection of peace and well-being of our peoples. There are many unsolved issues in the world. In approaching them Czechoslovak foreign policy will be governed by the principles which today's creators were always trying to promote in the past: the principle of the right to self-determination of nations, and settling disputes by deliberations.

The federal government is aware of Czechoslovakia's key position in Europe from both the geographical viewpoint as well as from the viewpoint of allegiance of the nations of this country to European culture. We want to link to these facts in our future policy which will be a policy of opening up to the world.

We are proceeding from the reality of today's Europe and we concentrate above all on the building of promising and fruitful mutual relations with all states that will meet our effort halfway. We emphasize in particular the reltions with all of our neighbors. We hope that the understanding of security in Europe in terms of blocs will be changed into a pluralist concept in which Czechoslovakia will be able to fulfill its wish for cooperation and open dialogue.

We shall respect the obligations that follow from Czecoslovakia's participation in the Warsaw Pact and strive to ensure that both blocs are involved in the building of all-European security structures. We want these obligations to be based on equality and noninterference in internal affairs. Our talks with the USSR about the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on our territory are in harmony with these principles.

We shall gradually normalize relations with the states with whom we currently have no diplomatic relations if there are bilateral interests.

We shall be developing relations with developing countries in such a way as to make them harmonize with our possibilities and needs. Therefore we shall carry out basic changes also in the policy of providing credit abroad. Czechoslovakia is a creditor country but a part of the debts which are to be paid to us is literally irrecoverable. Why has it happened? The reason was the predominance of political viewpoints over economic ones and also the bureaucratic way of management which made it possible for a number of enterprises to fulfill their export plans regardless of returnability of resources and their efficiency. We have to halt such benevolence. We are not so rich that we can give away credit as a gift. In this area too we shall be promoting the viewpoint of returnability of credit and efficiency of trading.

We realistically assess the creation of a unified internal market of the EC countries. The CSSR Government will discuss in the nearest future the concept of approach to this market and will adopt the necessary tasks in the legal area, in the area of normalization and in other areas. We

are interested in concluding a broader agreement on trade and cooperation between the CSSR and the EC and eventually in a certain form of association. We shall strive for the advancement of cooperation with other advanced countries; we shall broaden our relations with newly industrialized countries. We must finally stop speaking about new forms of cooperation and we must start to implement them in practice.

I would also like to assure you that personnel changes in our diplomatic corps, in trade representative bodies, and also in respective ministries have already started. These changes are not attempts at political revenge. They are a part of an effort to increase the professional standard of foreign service, to comply with the general demands of the people so that this country is not represented abroad by politicians who were discredited in the internal policy and so that people who were forced to leave this area after 1968 and who preserved their qualifications for foreign service are able to return to it.

Esteemed deputies of the Federal Assembly. The government of national accord must represent more than just a consensus of fundamental political forces concerning the issue of reinforcement of Czechoslovak statehood on the principles of democracy. It is equally necessary that all political forces which met at the roundtable should feel not only a political but also an ethical obligation which follows from the adopted agreements. This is another reason why we are putting forward publicly the principles of the program of national understanding in order to make the entire general public assess who stands up to his words, and how. If the CSSR Government is to implement the principles of its programs, political and ethical obligations adopted at the roundtable must be reflected in the relations between the government and the Federal Assembly.

Without mutual understanding we will not succeed in overcoming the present political crisis.

It is extremely important that at this time above all the political system should stabilize completely. On the basis of consensus all governments have come into being as the supreme executive organs of state power. Deputies who are not considered to be representatives of the people are leaving parliaments. The office of president of the republic remains unfilled.

This office, which has historically become a symbol of our statehood and without which we cannot secure the full functioning of the state and political mechanism, should be filled as soon as possible in the interest of stability. The government is making exceptional efforts to overcome the political and constitutional crisis with the wish that all guarantees should be adopted which would prevent a return to the former methods of management of social processes.

For this reason I would like to ask the Federal Assembly to join in this effort by electing the president of the republic by the end of this year. [applause] In the opinion of the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, at the present time in order to achieve the goals declared, there is no alternative to the election of Vaclav Havel as president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic [applause] ... with the proviso that this election would be limited to the period until a session of Parliament meets which is the result of free elections and carries out a new election.

With this act we would show appreciation for the whole movement for the moral renewal of society, for setting out on the path of a democratic, dynamic, and free system of social relations in our state, the movement which is headed by Vaclav Havel. We would thus also accede to the wishes of our people, and confirm to foreign countries that we are capable of solving problems in our country on our own and with the appropriate competence.

Esteemed deputies, let us together do everything to enable all Czechs and Slovaks and members of other ethnic minorities living in the republic to enter the elections as dignified citizens of a democratic state, citizens to whom the state neither gives privileges nor discriminates against because of their political convictions or religious beliefs but on the contrary as citizens whose equal rights the state protects. Let us do everything to enable each citizen, in the spirit of the best traditions of our political culture, to back firmly without fear his or her conviction while being tolerant at the same time of the views of others. Let us do everything to ensure that the real will of the majority as well as the inalienable right of the minority are respected. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Slovak Justice Minister Meets Disgruntled Inmates

LD2612221189 Prague CTK in English 2004 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 26 (CTK)—A general amnesty, better conditions in prisons, abolition of the death sentence and reduction of the highest jail sentences to ten years are only some of the demands raised by inmates of the prison in Ilava, central Slovakia, who are also on a hunger strike.

Slovak Justice Minister Ladislav Kosta met representatives of the convicts in Ilava today to inform them of the measures taken by the federal government and the governments of the two republics in settling demands raised earlier in other prisons throughout Czechoslovakia.

Commission To Investigate Prisons

LD2612221389 Prague CTK in English 2100 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 26 (CTK)—An independent commission of the Czech Justice Ministry will start an inquiry Wednesaday into the living, social, and working conditions of convicts and deal with guarantees of their rights, Czech Minister of Justice Dagmar Buresova said in a statement for television today.

The commission is composed of members of the Czech National Council (parliament), the Committee in Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted, lawyers, Justice Ministry officials, Civic Forum members, and others. Investigations will take place step by step and the minister of justice therefore asked prison inmates to keep discipline and abide by laws, adding that unlawful acts against prison warders and chiefs cannot be accepted.

Dagmar Buresova also said that so far talks have taken place with convicts' representatives on settling their demands in prisons at Rynovice, Liberec-Minkovice, Mirov, Valtice, Hermanice, Plzen-Bory, Nove Sedlo, Ricany, Horni Slavkov, Straz Pod Ralskem, Oracov, Libkovice, Ostgrov Nad Ohri, Kurim near Brno, Vinarice, and Mlada Boleslav.

'Small Explosions' Reported at 2 Colleges

LD2712135689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] There were small explosions in the building of the Machine-Building and Electrotechnical Higher Technical College in Plzen and also near the building of the Plzen medical faculty. No one was injured.

The chief of Plzen One borough department of public security, Captain (Jaroslav Snil), said that remnants of a charge have been found in the second college. The origin of the remnants is now being investigated by pyrotechnists. Three window panes were broken by the explosion.

An unknown person threw a smoke-pot into the entrance hall of the Machine-Building and Electrotechnical College. Although no light has been thrown on these events by the questioning of witnesses so far, the explosions are likely related to some provocation.

Concern About Stability of Food Supplies

AU2312225389

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 21 December on page 4 carries a 1,000-word undated interview with Ludovit Posa, section chief at the Slovak Ministry of Agriculture and Food, and Jozef Strecky, section chief at the Slovak Ministry of Trade and Tourism, by Jozef Sedlak, entitled "Meat—An Enticement for Austrian Tourists?" In the interview, the two officials respond to questions about the impact on the market in Slovakia of the expected "invasion" by Austrian tourists, following the cancellation of the visa requirement for Austrian tourists between 20 December this year and end of January 1990. Posa says that Slovak agriculture is not prepared to cope with any "large purchases of foodstuffs by foreigners." He warns that, unless strict customs measures are applied against Austrian citizens, "we will not be able to guarantee the stability of the food market in the Slovak Socialist Republic." Strecky says that, in view of price differences in the two countries, Austrian tourists are expected to show interest mainly in meat, meat products, sparkling wine, cheese, gasoline, and catering. Both officials agree that a long-term solution lies only in bringing the price levels in the two countries into balance, which cannot, however, be done in a few months. They therefore see no other solution but a "consistent application of the valid customs regulations against all foreign tourists, regardless of from which country they come."

Contacts With Romanian Securitate Denied

LD2712104789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0933 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Members of the GDR intelligence service and the constitutional protection office, which are now being developed, most strongly condemn the crimes of the Romanian secret service. In a statement issued by a spokesman to ADN, members of the two services distance themselves from the crimes of the Romanian secret service against the people. They assure the Romanian people and the Armed Forces fighting on their side of their full solidarity.

As the spokesman stressed, neither the former Ministry of State Security nor the now-dissolved Office of National Security ever had contacts with the Romanian secret service Securitate. They had never worked together with this organization. [passage omitted]

Gerlach, Modrow Congratulate Romanian Leaders

LD2612162789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Manfred Gerlach, the acting GDR State Council chairman, passed on congratulations today to Ion Iliescu on his election as chairman of the National Salvation Front of Romania. Hans Modrow, chairman of the Council of Ministers, also sent a telegram of congratulations to his new Romanian counterpart, Petre Roman. [passage omitted]

Modrow-Kohl Talks Assessed Positively

AU2712082889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Dec 89 p 2

[Commentary by Gerd Prokot: "Treaty-Based Community—an Idea is Taking Shape"]

[Text] GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl used the same words at an international news conference to describe their summit in Dresden. It was "a good, an important day" that was shaped through joint work. It was good for the citizens in the two German states, and important for the European neighbors, for all peoples on our continent who had expected a genuine contribution to peace and peaceful coexistence from this meeting on the Elbe.

The outcome of the talks between the heads of government and ministers of several spheres is rich and tangible for the citizens. This applies particularly to the specific agreements that have been concluded in the fields of economy, culture, science, education, environmental protection, and tourism. This includes the formation of a joint economic committee, which will convene in Berlin as early as the beginning of January, a cooperation agreement, a cultural working plan, and many other things. The establishment of a fund for travelers' payments involving sums of up to DM2.9 billion both for 1990 and 1991 will be welcomed with great satisfaction. Agreement was also reached on the opening of the Brandenburg Gate for pedestrians before Christmas. The early introduction of visa-free travel from the FRG and West Berlin to the GDR will also meet with considerable criticism in our country.

An essential result of the meeting was that, upon Kohl's request, both heads of government will again meet at the end of January or the beginning of February, this time on FRG soil. This is all the more remarkable because the chancellor did not seem to be in a hurry concerning a German-German summit a short time ago....

It is not only the treaties and agreements that give this first meeting special significance. The two political leaders sent clear signals in Dresden, and set the course for a new quality of partnership between the two German states. There is no doubt that the joint support for a treaty-based community, as proposed by Prime Minister Modrow in his government statement, is a victory of reason and realism, and shows that responsibility has consciously been adopted toward the German people and the peoples of Europe.

Despite the fact that there was no consensus in the assessment of the German question and its prospects, there was agreement that stability in the GDR and stability in central Europe are indispensable preconditions for peace on the European continent. Special patience and good political judgment are required in view of the fact that relations between the GDR and FRG are indivisibly linked with East-West relations and embedded in the all-European process. Kohl was referring to this when he stressed that what has been achieved during the reform process should not be endangered through impatience and radicalism against the GDR. This should also provide some food for thought for those who called for the unity of Germany at the rally in front of Frauenkirche church.

Proceeding from differing positions, but aware of their joint responsibility, the heads of government met in Dresden to do the right thing during a difficult period. The right thing is to stipulate the concept of the treaty-based community in a treaty that has to be negotiated jointly. Modrow and Kohl concurred that this treaty could be ready for signing in the spring of 1990. The confidence that peace can be promoted in this way in Europe and the whole world is totally justified. Work that will shape the future has been tackled in Dresden. History will decide whether this day can be called historic.

Kohl's 19 Dec Speech in Dresden

AU2112115589 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 21 Dec 89 p 6

[Speech by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl at rally in Dresden on 19 December]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, my dear young friends, dear compatriots:

First of all, I would like to thank you very much for this friendly and comradely welcome. And, my dear friends, many, many hundreds of journalists from all over Europe have come to us, and I think that we should show them together that we can hold a peaceful rally right in the middle of Germany.

Therefore, I request very emphatically, despite all enthusiasm, that we now concentrate together on these few minutes of our meeting. The first thing I want to shout out to you all is a cordial greeting from all your compatriots from the FRG. The second thing I want to say is a word of recognition and admiration for this peaceful revolution in the GDR. For the first time in German history, people are demonstrating for the future with nonviolence, seriousness, and in solidarity. For this I thank you all very, very cordially.

This is a demonstration for democracy, peace, freedom, and the self-determination of the German people, and, dear friends, self-determination means for us in the FRG that we respect your opinion. We do not want to and we will not patronize anyone. We respect what you decide for the future of the country. And, dear friends, I came here today for the talks with your premier, Hans Modrow, in order to help the GDR in this difficult situation. We are not leaving our compatriots in the GDR in the lurch.

And we know—let me say this amid this enthusiasm, which pleases me so much—how difficult this path will be in the future. But I also call out to you: We will create the path to the German future together. Today was my first meeting with Premier Hans Modrow, and we are both aware that in this historic hour we have to try to do our duty for our people, regardless of our political origin. This was a first talk, it was a serious talk, and it yielded good results. We agreed that over the next few weeks most intensive work will be done to make sure that we are able to conclude a treaty on the community of treaties between the FRG and the GDR in spring.

Dear friends, we want close cooperation in all fields. In the field of the economy, transportation, environmental protection, social policy, and culture. In the field of economy, in particular, we want the closest possible cooperation with the clear goal of having living conditions here in the GDR improved as quickly as possible. We want the people to feel comfortable here, we want them to stay in their homeland and to find happiness here. The decisive thing is that the people in the GDR can come together in the future, that free travel in both directions is lastingly guaranteed.

We want the people in Germany to be able to meet wherever they want. And then, dear friends, you will have free elections next year. You will decide freely who will sit in a parliament invested with your trust, you will have a freely elected government, and then it will be time for what I called confederative structures, that is, joint government committees, joint parliamentary committees, so that we can live in Germany with as many common things as possible.

Let me say here in this square, which is so rich in traditions, that it remains my goal to bring about the unity of our nation, if the historical hour permits this. And, dear friends, I know that we can achieve this goal, and that the hour will come when we work for this together, when we do this with reason and with a sense of perspective, and a sense of what is feasible. It is a difficult path, but it is a good path; the issue is our joint future.

I also know that this cannot be done from today to tomorrow. We Germans do not live alone in Europe and in the world. A look at the map shows that everything that has changed here must have effects on all our neighbors; on the neighbors in the East and on the neighbors in the West. There is no use in ignoring the fact that many watch us with concern and some also with fear on this path. Fear cannot give rise to anything good; however, as Germans we do have to tell our neighbors that, in view of the history of this century, we understand some of these fears. We will take them seriously, and for us this means that we want to represent our interests as Germans; we say yes to the right to self-determination, which belongs to all peoples in this world, also to the Germans.

But, dear friends, this right to self-determination is useful for the Germans only if we do not lose sight of the security needs of others. We want to enter a world of more peace and freedom, which has more togetherness, and no one working against the other. The house of Germany, our house, must be built under a European roof, this must be the goal of our policy. Dear friends, in a few days, on 1 January 1990, the 1990's will start; they lead into the last decade of this century. It is a century that has seen much distress, much misery, many dead, and much wrong in Europe and also here in Germany.

A century that repeatedly saw the special responsibility of the Germans for some evil things that happened; here in Dresden I have just laid a wreath—also in commemoration of the misery and the dead of this beautiful old German city. At that time I was 15 years old, a pupil, a child—and this I tell the young people here in the square. I then had the chance to grow up over there in my home in the Palatinate, and I belong to that young generation who, like the people here, swore after the war: Never again war, never again violence. I would like to extend this oath here before you, by calling out: In the future, peace must always start from German soil, this is the goal of our togetherness.

But, dear friends, true peace is not possible without freedom. Therefore, you are struggling and demonstrating for freedom in the GDR and, therefore, we support you; therefore, you have our solidarity.

Dear friends, only a few days separate us from Christmas, the holiday of peace. Christmas, this is a holiday for the family, for friends, and in these days in

particular, we in Germany feel as one German family. We have all felt this over the past weeks and days.

I recall for us all the moving pictures in the middle of Germany, in September and October, the pictures where friends met again, but also friends and families; we have waited for this for 40 years, and we are grateful that we are allowed to experience this now.

Dear friends, all this did not come about by itself, many people helped. Not least the citizens in the streets and squares of the GDR. But also outside, in the world, many people helped. I have good reason to cite Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroyka, which created this opportunity; the liberation movement of Solidarity in Poland; and the reformers in Hungary. Dear friends, we are grateful for this. Now it is necessary that we continue on this path peacefully, patiently, with a sense of perspective, and together with our neighbors in the time that we are facing. Let us work together for this goal....

I wish you and all of us a peaceful Christmas and a happy 1990. God bless our German fatherland.

FRG, GDR Labor Ministers Agree to Talks

LD2112102289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1333 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—FRG Minister of Labor Norbert Bluem and GDR Deputy Minister of Labor and Salaries Ingolf Noack agreed in Dresden today to hold negotiations at the state secretary level at the beginning of January. They are to be devoted to issues arising for the two ministries from the opening of the border between the two German states.

On the sidelines of the summit meeting between GDR Premier Hans Modrow and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Bluem described this cooperation as a "classic area for a treaty-based community." Problem areas were mapped out in the talks. Both ministers agreed that freedom of movement causes certain problems for employment and insurance policy that should be approached pragmatically.

Sindermann Discusses Honecker's Ouster

LD2712100589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0220 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"All Politburo decisions had to be unanimous. That was a principle that Ulbricht had introduced. Under no circumstances would there be a split in the party." This was stated by former GDR parliamentary President Horst Sindermann in an interview with JUNGE WELT published on Wednesday. Since he did not want any split or any splinter groups within the party, he occasionally gave way. "We always agreed on a consensus. I cannot stand up and say now that I did not know and intend this."

Differences of view that became more and more acute did indeed exist, Sindermann stressed in the interview. "Honecker probably felt that. When he became ill, he extended the convalescence periods. Our work was paralysed. But Honecker did not want to remain without influence. That is why he sent Krenz on holiday, that is quite correct, and handed over the official functions to Mittag." In this connection, Sindermann conceded that, even before this, Mittag and Honecker preformulated Politburo decisions when out on walks.

"...the recognition that Honecker had to go grew constantly. The last impetus was given by Gorbachev's visit on the 40th anniversary. There was a very pleasant talk between Gorbachev and the Politburo. He talked of his problems and ours. He said that we would have it easier with our perestroyka because we had a strong economy. Then Honecker replied. He trotted out his speech about the four megabit [processor] again. I have to say this because he constantly forgot the relative importance of things, the disproportions that arose from the one-sided concentration on microelectronics. In crucial situations he always produced a UN statistic that said we had higher labor productivity than the Soviet Union. This was his justification for staying on the old course, that we were getting on very well on our own. He also told Gorbachev this. That was what decided matters.... Stoph made a motion to remove Honecker from office.

To the question of whether he, as president of the People's Chamber, should not also have gone immediately, Sindermann answered: "Why? I did not fail; we made important sociopolitical decisions. The homebuilding program. Everything."

Horst Sinderman, who is still living in Wandlitz with his wife, Inge, and once had a salary of 4,500 marks and must now live on a pension of 1,800 marks, notes: "I do not believe that anyone is still interested in my political opinion. Perhaps people will think differently about it sometime. I do not need the house here anymore. It no longer meets my needs. We have to leave it anyway. We do not know where we are going. Nobody bothers about us any more."

Roundtable Talks Resume in Berlin

LD2712094789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Under the chairmanship of Church Councillor Martin Ziegler, the fourth session of the roundtable, consisting of parties and citizens movements, began this morning in Berlin's Niederschoenhausen Castle. First, the body will decide on three motions from social organizations that also want to be represented in this forum of discussion. The main focus of today's exchange of views will be questions relating to the competence of the roundtable with regard to cooperation with the Modrow coalition cabinet and its influence on important government decisions.

Moreover, there will also be discussion of whether local elections should be held before the People's Chamber elections. The new forums wants to discuss all aspects of

the democratization process. Serious concern is being felt by the participants in the roundtable, according to a correspondent's report on GDR Radio about the emergence of neo-Nazi elements. Therefore, they want to strengthen the antifacist climate in the country.

The government is putting forward proposals on opportunities for the activity of new parties and groups. Also, there will be discussions on a civilian control committee on security issues. Parallel to the roundtable discussion, there are sessions of working groups.

Schnur Leaves Roundtable

LD2712104589 Hamburg DPA in German 0932 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The chairman of the GDR opposition party Democratic Awakening, Wolfgang Schnur, resigned as a member of the roundtable at the beginning of its fourth session. In a statement, Schnur said the reason for his step was an "unbridled massive campaign" against him by the GDR press. Schnur said that he had been repeatedly accused of corruption and abuse of office. He denied allegations that he had illegally appropriated an apartment in Rostock.

The lawyer said that he had taken legal action against the relevant press organs, including JUNGE WELT. Schnur is not yet contemplating resigning as chairman of Democratic Awakening, which founded itself as a party in Leipzig 2 weeks ago. He intends to submit himself to a vote of confidence within the party on Thursday.

The deputy chairman of Democratic Awakening, Ehrhard Neubert, was named as his representative at the roundtable discussions.

Resignation 'Temporary'

LD2712125589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1157 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Lawyer Wolfgang Schnur has emphasized to ADN that his refusal to participate further in the roundtable negotiations would apply only until the matter is cleared up. This will be in the short term. At the beginning of the fourth session of the roundtable this morning, Schnur submitted a personal statement and announced his temporary resignation from the body. He justified his decision on the basis of the accusations of corruption, abuse of office, and assumption of priviledges made against him. [passage omitted]

Vice Premier Notes Economic Roundtable Talks

LD2212214189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1105 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At today's roundtable at Berlin's Dietrich Bonhoeffer House, GDR Vice Premier Christa Luft announced consultations on 2 January on a program for economic stabilization in 1990 and beyond with all ministers responsible for the economy. A new structural, environmental, and energy concept as well as a microelectronics program are planned.

Christa Luft pointed out that increasingly emphatic demands for wage increases have been raised, and at times threats of strikes have been made in the event of their nonfulfillment. She cited the situation in locally managed transport, for example, in the Leipzig transport enterprises and in the Eisleben motorized transport, where possible strike measures are to be decided at 1600 today. The government shows understanding but cannot meet all demands. Further wage increases would worsen the disproportions between the monetary and goods fund. An increase in goods production would not be achieved in this way.

Referring to the frequently expressed fear of a "sellout," she stated that the GDR economy needs foreign capital for rapid modernization. However, the government will not permit majority investment of such capital in GDR enterprises. Enterprise and combine directors have the possibility of sounding out matters and identifying possible partners in connection with the establishment of joint venture. The industrial ministers will have the first word in conjunction with other ministries. In this connection she contradicted the latest news reports about already established joint ventures.

Christa Luft stressed the need for a drastic cost reduction in the economy. This applies especially to overhead costs, which "are outrageously high." The Ministry of Labor and Wages has prepared a retraining program for workers in connection with the structural changes. Stronger mobility of labor forces is needed.

According to the latest findings of this ministry, there are currently some 250,000 job vacancies. There is considerable demand, above all, in the underdeveloped service sector, and also in the educational and health service. It is therefore incomprehensible that in this situation, Socialist Unity Party of Germany members from the former party and state apparatus and former members of the Ministry of State Security are frequently not employed in jobs with a high demand. Here it is important to fully utilize the legal possibilities.

Concern about a possible sellout of the republic was also aroused in the population through numerous queries from the FRG and Berlin (West) about the possibility of buying property, hotels, and enterprises in the GDR. The laws in force do not permit this, and the government has no intention of changing this, she said. The possibility of a right of usufruct or a lease could be examined. Referring to the negative effects of opening up the border, Christa Luft stated that her government is not responsible for this step and would certainly have taken necessary measures beforehand. The demand for opening more border crossing points cannot be met at present. The costs for such crossing points amount to about M10 million per year at present and therefore the local authorities have to bear the costs for the new openings in specific cases, perhaps in conjunction with relevant FRG partners.

Customs controls will be intensified to consistently pursue the illegal import and export of GDR marks in order to protect the GDR currency. The exchange of money has little economic sense and would result in a considerable loss of confidence. The government therefore rejects this measure.

Frau Luft demanded that the economy should be shaped as effectively and efficiently as possible so that it becomes a basis for the country's 16 million citizens remaining here voluntarily. Their ecological and social needs must be met in the GDR. She repeated her view on the development of proprietorial consciousness and pleaded for all forms of ownership. However, public property has priority.

The government receives information throughout the day on econmic activity, Prof Luft went on to say, and is capable of action. Blanket assessments of the situation are not possible; the results differ according to area (bezirk) and regions, near or far from the border. The majority of working people are working hard and in a disciplined manner. That should receive more recognition from the public.

Pointing to the recently published statistical report, Frau Luft stated that the causes of the drop in industrial goods production are problems in the supply industry and in the provision of spare parts. In addition to this, there is a labor shortage. The plan was underfulfilled by the results of 2 working days, she said. She described as particularly painful the fact that only 61 percent of the items in the state plan have been fulfilled or overfulfilled.

Overall, developments in the report sector are satisfactory. There is a deficit in trade with capitalist countries. With regard to calls for extra imports, she stressed: The greatest danger for the country is insolvency. So far the GDR has counted as being internationally creditworthy.

At the start of the third session of this body with representatives of 16 parties, political groupings, and organizations, Pastor Martin Lange, secretary of the working Group of Christian Churches, pointed out the urgency of solving the ecological, economic, and financial problems with which the following hearing of government representatives dealt. He gave a briefing on a statement by the "Economy" Working Group of the roundtable on the previous day. In this statement, the first proposals are made that concern the "requirements for immediate measures to stabilize the economy with regard to social security and ecological requirements and for the first rules on the introduction of economic reform," and which will be handed to the roundtable on 3 January 1990. Consensus has been achieved on the process necessary for this.

At the same time the "Economy" Working Group ascertained that the publicizing of the ecological, economic, and financial situation by government representatives has so far not occurred. The call for prompt information before important economic and financial decisions has also not been fulfilled. However, both are seen by the working group as an indispensable prerequisite for its work. At the same time, the group expects information on indispensable measures to secure economic and social stocks in connection with visa-free travel. Martin Lange announced that another meeting of the working group will take place on 29 December.

Roundtable Talk on Criminal Law Amendment

AU2412215789 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 20 Dec 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "A Step Toward Democracy; Draft of the Sixth Criminal Law Amendment Act Discussed at a Round Table"]

[Text] The draft of the sixth criminal law amendment act was discussed for the first time at a roundtable in the Justice Ministry with representatives of parties, mass organizations, and citizens' movements. The ministry's invitation was accepted by the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, the Democratic Peasants Party, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], the Greens Party, the Free German Trade Union Federation, the Democratic Women's League, the consumer cooperatives, the United Left, Democracy Now, and the Federation of Evangelical Churches, as well as by representatives of the Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence and of the Berlin Lawyers Collegium.

Host Siegfrid Wittenbeck, state secretary in the Justice Ministry, said at the beginning that chapters 2 and 8 of the special part of the criminal law must be fundamentally reformed in the process of renewal of all areas of social life in the GDR and must be partly abolished. However, this is only a transitional solution; for the future, a basic new edition and revision of the criminal law is on the agenda. In a substantiation of the draft of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which had been sent to all participants in the discussion beforehand, it is pointed out, among other things, that concerning the political activities of the citizens—including the solution of political conflicts—the principle has to be implemented that political opposition, expressed in words and writing, by demonstrations or association for cooperative work, is to be countered only with political means. Nonviolent resistance must not be criminalized, either. Therefore, criminal law should start where—by whomever—an attempt is made to enforce political goals with threats, violence, terrorism, etc... Such activities attack the elementary rules of coexistence. They need to be protected by criminal law.

In an open-minded round, the representatives of parties, mass organizations, and citizens' movements discussed the revised chapters; the high degree of the rule of law for the citizens always was the focus of their statements and ideas. The participants came out in favor of sending the draft of the sixth criminal law amendment act quickly to the government and to the Presidium and the committees of the People's Chamber after it has been revised, and they came out in favor of having the plenum of the supreme people's

representative body pass it. They concurrently advocated the view that this democratic form of discussing texts of laws has already stood its first initial test.

At the moment, courts, juridical scientists, and other ministries are studying the draft law and will submit suggestions if necessary.

The NDPD representative, who participated in the meeting in the Justice Ministry, was Dietrich Reichwagen, senior judge at the Rostock Bezirk Court. He told NATIONAL-ZEITUNG about the results:

According to this amendment act—and this is one of the essential points—only those people who are trying to enforce political goals by force or by threatening the use of force will be punished under criminal law. Simply announcing political goals that do not correspond to the government's policy will no longer be punishable.

By amending the regulation on passport offenses, true freedom of travel beyond the state borders will be permitted. And, finally, all regulations that restrict personal rights, such as police controls (state control), and similar things will be abolished if they are not indispensable for the preservation of the community. The sixth criminal law amendment act is a real step on the path toward further democratization of criminal justice. It guarantees the rights and interests of the citizens in the free development of their personality, but also guarantees the necessary protection of society.

New Forum Not To Form Political Party

LD2612185489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1755 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to a communication sent to ADN today from the National Council of Spokespersons of the New Forum, it is unnecessary to found parties from the organization. "Instead of the 10th party we will continue to be the only broad-based citizens' movement," the communication reads. It also states: "Our candidates will not belong to any other party! We will ensure that the electoral law excludes party-linked mandate holders in organizations such as the FDGB or the Cultural Federation!" Jens Reich signed the communication on behalf of the National Council of Spokespersons.

Grass-Roots Groups Support New Forum Party

LD2312211589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1831 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The call to form a party of the New Forum is supported by grass-roots groups of the citizens' association from the Neubrandenburg, Schwerin, Leipzig, Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Gera, Suhl, and Halle areas (bezirk). As the member of the formation group, Claus Gerd Scheidig, went on to tell ADN, this evening party groups have already constituted themselves.

The aim of the New Forum citizens' association as merely a democratic platform in accordance with the appeal of September 1989 is regarded as having been fulfilled, he stressed. They can now only enter into the election campaign within the structure of a political party and fight for the confidence of future voters. The formation group for the New Forum party therefore invites delegations from all groups interested in this aim to a national meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 29 December.

Gysi Says Europe Should Support Nation

LD2212133289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1120 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Paris (ADN)—Dr Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], believes that the European states should support the GDR in its efforts "to become European." This could ensure that the GDR will not be exclusively dependent on its relations with the FRG, Gysi said today in an interview with the French radio station Europe 1. On the German question, he shares the view of French President Francois Mitterrand who, during his present visit to the GDR, again warned against precipitous steps in that direction and against calling into question the frontiers in Europe.

Gysi stressed that an "uncontrolled reunification" has to be avoided since, in his view, this will destroy all European balance and help the right to be victorious, which would automatically lead to a demand for the return of former German territories in Europe.

In response to Mitterrand's invitation to visit Paris, Gysi stressed the special importance that France holds for him personally, as the country to which his parents had fled during the Nazi period. "If it had not been for France, I would not be alive," he said. His paternal grandmother had remained in Paris until her death.

LDPD Congress To Be Held 9-10 Feb

AU2212143289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "LDPD Congress To Take Place February 1990"]

[Text] East Berlin—The extraordinary congress of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] will take place on 9-10 February next year. This was decided by the party's Central Executive Council at its eighth meeting in Berlin on Tuesday [19 December]. According to statements to press representatives by LDPD spokesman Werner Fahlenkamp, member of the Central Executive Council, one of the most dominant issues at the discussion was the question of the future social and economic order of the GDR. At the conclusion of the meeting, the LDPD Central Executive Council released Hans-Joachim Heusinger from his duties as deputy party chairman. At the same time, it was agreed to recommend

that the government replace Heusinger as justice minister. Kurt Wuensche was elected as new LDPD deputy chairman, and he was also proposed for the position of justice minister.

Statement of LDPD Goals Released

LD2112231489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1527 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A "statement of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD]" will appear in the party's press tomorrow. The four "goals of the GDR liberals" in the process of the country's renewal, which have been prereleased to ADN, were decided by the Central Executive Council.

The first goal "is the free development of the human personality. We don't want any new 'model' of socialism," the document says. "In the new start to our party's policy, we take as the point of departure the human being as a personality and inalienable rights and liberties, not society, the state, classes, and strata."

The second goal "is a market economy, which guarantees social and ecological security. In this we turn away from the shortage-creating planned economy with its centralism and bureaucracy." The LDPD wants an economic system in which the performance principle and the economic competition of autonomous economic units of all forms of ownership produce the highest efficiency and in which, through the regulating influence of the democratic state, social and ecological tasks are fulfilled in the interests of the whole of society.

The third goal "is a new state unity of Germany [eine neue staatliche einheit deutschlands] within the 1989 borders in a united Europe." The thesis of the socialist German nation has failed. The LDPD is committed to a progressive unification, embedded in the process of international disarmament negotiations and as part of the endeavor to establish the European home.

The fourth goal "is a Europe that in the year 2000 is free of nuclear weapons and also of armies that confront one another, highly armed with conventional weapons." The continent must no longer be a powder keg. This calls for courageous disarmament measures and the encouragement of comprehensive security structures, up to and including the dissolution of the blocs. The GDR Liberals propose a reduction in the manpower of the National People's Army, the re-equipment of the Armed Forces, which involved dispensing with certain types of weapons and special units, the reduction of military service to 12 months, a drastic reduction in defense spending, a considerable reduction in prohibited military areas, and conversion of the areas gained into recreation areas for the people.

Group Set Up To Oversee Redeploying Workers

LD2112230889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1627 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government decided to form a national working group to oversee the departure from service and the redeployment of employees of state bodies, parties, and social organizations, as well as members of the defense and security forces, in a coordinated and legal manner. In a statement sent to ADN, it says that it further ordered relevant commissions under the directors of the Labor Offices to work within the bezirk [area] and kreis [district] governments. [passage omitted]

Leipzig Bezirk Council Elects New Chairman

LD2112224189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1211 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN), The new chairman of the Leipzig Bezirk [area] Council is Joachim Draber (Socialist Unity Party of Germany). The council's first deputy chairman was the sole candidate and was elected by the deputies of the council by a large majority.

Beforehand, the people's representatives withdrew their confidence from council Chairman Rolf Opitz (Socialist Unity Party of Germany), who is in investigative custody at the moment.

Party Congresses, Policies Viewed

AU2112103689 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18 Dec 89 p 1

[Hans Eggert commentary: "More Clarity After This Weekend"]

[Text] A weekend of party congresses lies behind us. Has it brought clarity about objectives, profiles, and the content of the future activities of some politically important political forces of our country?

First, it has really become clear that hopes in this respect, which we have also expressed in a commentary in these columns, involve the danger of conveying only superficial perspectives. The short period of change in the GDR, the speed that is sweeping almost everything away before it and that is sweeping away long-standing and worn-out principles—all this is too elemental for completely clear lines of future actions to become visible.

On this party congress weekend, neither the Socialist Unity Party of Germany- Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] nor the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] or the newly established party of Democratic Awakening got into the absolutely fatal position of attracting, by know-all behavior, those who, in their pain caused by the loss of security in the simple dogma, run behind the person who offers the simplest answers.

The democratic socialists, their violent break with the Stalinist past created by Honecker, and their revealing

dispute over the economy, the role of the workers and of foreign capital have shown how much progress the innovators and the renewal have made in their party. Moreover, Gregor Gysi explained good reasons why people should vote for this party in the elections: because of the political and scientific authority in its ranks, because of its support for the concerns of the working people, because of its convincing attitude to democracy. However, at present there is a lack of an electrifying idea or the willingness to consistently present oneself as a new party, or by giving the organization a really new name. Why did it come to advances and retreats precisely in this respect, which, as they were made in a closed session, were also concealed from the party base for some time?

In view of the other party congresses in Berlin and Leipzig, similar questions arise. Both the CDU chairman and the activists of Democratic Awakening have ascertained partly fundamental contradictions on basic questions of economic and social strategy or the policy toward the FRG that have emerged between individual wings of their parties. This might be registered by some people with a tinge of fear. But could it not also justify some optimism?

At least there are convincing indications that the lack of agreement is, above all, the result of the newly gained opportunities for the democratic formation of will, while, on the other hand, there was agreement that temptation by smart demagogues must not be permitted.

The readiness of many people who have been criticized to critically consider their own views and comments may also put us in a friendly frame of mind. In connection with his call for the resignation of the Modrow government, Rainer Eppelmann of Democratic Awakening gave an example of what might be typical of the GDR in future election campaigns: to focus on things we have in common during controversies.

Bishops Conference on Number of Christians

AU2012091389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Dec 89 p 2

[ND report: "6.2 Million Christians on GDR Territory"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—According to a release by the press office of the Berlin Bishops' conference, there are 6,221,450 Christians in the GDR at present. This represents 37.4 percent of the overall population. A total of 5,100,000 belong to the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR. In the sphere of the Berlin Bishops' Conference, there are about 1,050,000 Catholics. A total of 71,450 Christians belong to other churches or church communities.

Leaders Greet New Romanian Counterparts

LD2612215189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Hungarian Republic, has sent a telegram greeting Ion Iliescu, chairman of the Romanian National Salvation Front Council. A similar telegram was sent by Miklos Nemeth to Petre Roman, the new prime minister, and by Ferenc Karpati to Nicolae Militaru, the defense minister.

In his telegram, the Hungarian prime minister emphasized that the Hungarian people, as a good neighbor and true friend, will provide every possible assistance to repair the serious damage caused by the battles.

Nemeth Sends Telegram to Romanian Premier

LD2712111289 Budapest MTI in English 0955 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 27 (MTI)—Tuesday night, Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, greeted in a telegram Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front of Romania. Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent a telegram of greetings to Prime Minister Petre Roman, and Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian minister of defence, to his counterpart Nicolae Militaru. In his telegram, Mr Nemeth stressed:

'I wish you and the peoples of Romania that the still resisting terrorist groups be eliminated as soon as possible, and conditions created for healing the wounds caused by struggle and starting the peaceful construction of your country.'

The Hungarian prime minister assured his counterpart that the Government of the Republic of Hungary, the Hungarian people, as a good neighbour and true friend, were prepared to give every possible assistance to the victory of the revolution and the recovery of the serious damage caused by the struggle.

'We are confident that the change in your country has created a historic opportunity for settling the Hungarian-Romanian relations and developing them on a new basis.

'In your magnificent struggle, which the Hungarian people, together with the whole progressive world, follow with admiration and acting solidarity, I wish you and the new Romanian leadership the consolidation of victory and success in the construction of a new, free and democratic Romania,' Mr Nemeth says in the telegram.

Defense Spokesman Comments on Romania

LD2612205489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Janos Hollos has a report on a Hungarian evaluation of the situation in Romania:

[Hollos] As usual, Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, head of the Hungarian People's Army Press Department, will tell us the latest news.

[Keleti] Well, I can give you good news today, on military matters, and also on aid and other things. To start with, the military: Today we had a good connection with the Romanian military leadership. The Romanian situation has significantly improved. Our evaluation is that a turnaround happened yesterday, and, according to our information and assessment, the direction of the Army has become more decisive. I would like to say that a progressive weakening of the Securitate has been experienced. We ourselves can see this, because our radio searching and locating units which were in Hungary a fews days ago were monitoring broadcasts from 31 Securitate radio centers—yesterday 19, and today only 5. We of course put this data at the disposal of the Romanian military leadership.

We have information from (?many sources) that the Securitate forces have laid down their arms, for example in Satu Mare, where the Army is guarding the former members of the Securitate in the barracks.

Today there was no airspace violations along the border. And what is even more significant, we did not discern or discover any kind of aerial movement around the border. Well, this is more or less the military news.

Now, to more peaceful things. I would like to say a few things about Laszlo Tokes and his family. General Stanculescu, first deputy of the Romanian Defense Ministry, in response to a request 2 days ago from Hungarian Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati, in which he asked the minister to take Laszlo Tokes and his family to a safe place, today responded again, providing further information. Laszlo Tokes and his family are in a safe place, in good circumstances. Today there was an article by him in one of the main Romanian papers, which shows that he has assumed a political role, although it is not a large one.

I would also like to say that in cooperation with the Romanian military leadership, an agreement has been reached. Tomorrow, if the weather permits, the first two military supply planes will set off. The Romanian side is capable and ready to receive them at Bucharest airport. They will provide personnel to unload the packages and food supplies.

The Romanian military leadership informed us that they are working and endeavoring to reach the point where they can manage military guarantees for aid arriving from Hungary, beyond Timisoara, Cluj and Arad, toward the center of the country.

Keleti on Plans for Airlift to Romania

LD2612211189 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 26 (MTI)—The Hungarian People's Army ensures five AN-26T-type aircraft and 30 helicopters to forward air deliveries to Romania, said Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman of the Ministry of Defence.

The five aircraft can carry a total 15 tons, the helicopters a total 87.5 tons of freight on each flight to Romania. The helicopters can also carry injured people on the return flights. The military airfields in Hungary are prepared to receive and load Romanian planes.

Szuros Receives Soviet Envoy, Views Relations

LD2312100989 Budapest MTI in English 1829 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 22 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, on Friday met Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

The sides reviewed the state of Hungarian-Soviet relations, and the tasks for the future. Mr Szuros said it is in the interst of Hungary for relations between the two neighbouring countries to continue to develop in a balanced manner, based on reciprocally advantageous cooperation. The Hungarian side shall do everything in the interest that cooperation with the Soviet Union be characterized by confidence and good-neighbourly relations.

The interim president of the republic also spoke about the changes taking place in central-Eastern Europe, and within this, the developments in Romania.

Mr Szuros asked the ambassador to forward his good wishes for the new year to Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Supreme Soviet.

Horn Assesses Talks in Brussels

AU2112103389 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 15 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Margit Kocsi in Budapest on 14 December: "If We Can Come to An Agreement"]

[Text] [Kocsi] What are the results of your talks in Brussels?

[Horn] Hungary can expect aid and cooperation funds to the tune of several hundreds of millions of dollars as of 1990, if we can come to an agreement with the IMF. This agreement is extremely important because it would guarantee the international money market debt financing conditions. At the same time, the credit promised by the EEC and the 24 could be used for economic restructuring, economic modernization, and for improving living conditions, something that I personally insist on very much. Actually, there are no political conditions for this, but there is an economic condition which I already mentioned; namely, to come to an agreement with the IMF.

[Kocsi] Did you succeed in convincing the 24 that we are now in great need of such support?

[Horn] I think the decisive majority understand and feel the serious problems Hungary is currently struggling with. Following my speech in Brussels, U.S. State Secretary James Baker himself said that we Hungarians had always been able to convince our partners.

However, a new situation has emerged to a certain extent, and this is mainly our fault. Experience shows that we find it extremely difficult to reach a concrete agreement. We made it a special task for our diplomatic representations to encourage and convey every business and cooperation opportunity. I must say that there is great interest on a political and economic level, and there are many offers; however, we are unable to make our domestic organizations give genuine responses to these offers. For example, we asked for concrete offers and concepts regarding the package deal submitted by the group of 24 in the summer, and, with few exceptions, we hardly received any offers. Why? In my view, the main reason for this is that the economy has not yet begun working out a system that would force it to make changes.

[Kocsi] This also depends on the government....

[Horn] Yes, it does. In many areas, the government deserves criticism—and I say this self-critically, although I am not an economic leader—because it has repeatedly been inconsistent and uncertain. At the same time, one must also notice that, no matter what the government is trying to do, it is facing huge opposition.

[Kocsi] I presume you did not have an easy time in Brussels either, and two tough rounds of negotiations are still to be held. One of them aims at coming to an agreement with the IMF, and the other is the parliamentary session to begin on 18 December. I know that you held talks with IMF General Director Michel Camdessus in Brussels. There were rumors last week that our negotiations with the IMF could even break up.

[Horn] Yes, these rumors emerged because the Hungarian negotiating delegation took a tough stand at the talks. In other words, it was out of the question to accept every condition immediately. We had very difficult and long bargaining on how to reduce the demands of the IMF. Finally, as a result of this tough bargaining, a version emerged with which the IMF delegation could leave and which also represents a guarantee that, if Parliament approves it next week, an agreement will be signed in January. The decision is now in the hands of the Parliament.

[Kocsi] What do you expect?

[Horn] I understand that the extremely difficult situation of the National Assembly deputies....

[Kocsi] They will do wrong whether they adopt or reject this. If they adopt it, our lives will be considerably more difficult; if they reject it, this will endanger the implementation of Western aid....

[Horn] I see two things of fundamental importance. Given Hungary's situation at the moment—and by this moment, I mean next year—I do not see any other way out. We can maintain Hungary's international solvency only if we come to an agreement with the IMF. I think the deputies are aware of this extraordinary responsibility. As to how they will vote, I cannot predict this.

[Kocsi] Is maintaining solvency that important?

[Horn] Yes, it is. Otherwise, the economy would collapse. The other thing I also consider to be as important is that, since all this will affect hundreds of thousands and millions of people, we must urgently start working out and implementing measures aimed at helping the strata of the population which are particularly in need. For this, we are trying to do our best to obtain foreign support. We are not thinking in terms of years—and I am now talking on my behalf—but in terms of months.

[Kocsi] In your lecture, you mentioned 7 years. If I understood it properly, 7 years must pass to implement some kind of a Hungarian request to join the common market?

[Horn] I gave 7 years as an example. Experience so far in other countries shows a transitional period of some 7 years before becoming EEC members. In our case, we must also take two other important factors into consideration. One: the fact that we belong to the Eastern-European alliance system, and this makes the West think. Two: a market economy has not yet developed in Hungary. In other words, I do not think this period of time would be shorter in Hungary. Mr Bangemann also said that they do not even want to negotiate with anyone until 1992. Of course, events might accelerate. However, I am convinced that it would be an illusion to expect EEC membership within 1 or 2 years. We must already begin creating conditions for this membership.

[Kocsi] Speaking about the 7 years, can we expect an easier life after 7 years?

[Horn] In my view, if we seriously begin putting our house in order, within 2 to 3 years—and I do not regard this as too optimistic—we can put Hungary on a new development path which could lead to a normal economic situation in Hungary.

[Kocsi] Thank you for the interview.

Assembly Rejects TU Proposal on Wages

LD2212115189 Budapest MTI in English 1017 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 22. 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Thursday session of parliament rejected the motion that wages be fully liberalized and the tax on wage increment be abolished next year, as part and parcel of the economic deregulation package.

It was the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) that came up with the proposal, to compensate for the planned 20 per cent inflation next year. Most of the mps were against and the Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi downright protested against the idea. It is believed that in the present situation, when the country's majority state enterprises are run predominantly by company boards elected by the workers, which do not have proprietorial interests in the companies run by them, wage liberalization would only fuel inflation.

The CCTU suggested that the companies pay into the budget 0.3 per cent of their sales receipts to make up for revenues lost to the abolishment of the wage increment tax. The move was first endorsed, but on a second thought rejected by the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce that represents companies.

The prevailing system of wage taxation was introduced on January 1. 1989, when the previous full-scale progressive taxation of wages, spanning from 100 to 700 per cent, was replaced by a system that taxed the wage increment in the function of the added value. The wage increment tax is payable from the profit, but the new system gives the companies considerably more freedom to set wages.

The system will be maintained next year, but in case an appropriate progress can be made in developing genuine market conditions in Hungary so that the market will set the limits to wages, the companies may be given complete freedom in setting wages by 1991.

Joint ventures with at least 20 per cent, or more than 5 million usd foreign capital involvement, are already free to set wages.

Official on HSP Reaction to Nemeth Resignation

LD2312222689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Excerpts] At today's session of the ruling political party, the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] Presidium tried to reply to questions that particularly preoccupy our public opinion. Edit Kiraly talked to Viktor Polgar. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Kiraly] How did the HSP Presidium session receive Miklos Nemeth's departure.

[Polgar] Miklos Nemeth did not depart, but resigned from the work of the Presidium, from his Presidium membership. He expressed allegiance to his membership of the HSP. An agreement has been concluded according to which he, as prime minister, and a HSP member, can, if he wishes, participate ex-officio in the work of the Presidium.

An agreement has also been concluded on improving cooperation with the Presidium, the government, and

the head of government, in the same way as the prime minister is trying to cooperate wiht other parties in a coordinated manner. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Nyers Comments on MSZMP Congress

LD1812233189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Interview with Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), by Jozsef Orosz at the HSP party conference in Budapest on 18 December—recorded]

[Text] [Orosz] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party's [MSZMP] 14th congress, which ended at dawn today, has offered the Hungarian left-wing forces what I believe is a possibility for a kind of coalition before the elections, the formation of a new left-wing bloc. Does the HSP have a place in this? In Rezso Nyers's opinion, are you willing to accept this so-called friendly right hand?

[Nyers] Our party is working on a left-wing joining of forces in the long term. This is totally reconcilable with our party, this idea. As far as the coalition between the MSZMP and the HSP is concerned, on the other hand, this is not sufficient for left-wing unity. More would be needed than this. I cannot state that this is at present in a state of preparation. It is not sufficient to declare this. For this the political objectives, the methods have to be coordinated. Up until now the MSZMP has shown rather its isolation from the socialist party.

I am pleased about the fact that at this congress—as far as I know from the immediate information—they have adopted many things the HSP adopted at what we called our 1989 congress, where we were transformed into a socialist party. This in itself is a favorable thing. It is a good thing if the MSZMP is orienting itself toward the center of the left wing. In my opinion, the socialist party is in the center of the left wing.

At the same time, however, I cannot yet establish the real political direction of the MSZMP, because I see in it the presence of tendencies that not only diverge from one another but also contradict one another.

[Orosz] What significance do you ascribe to figures? At the MSZMP's 14th congress it was heard that their party has nearly 100,000 members, while the HSP so far has about 50,000 members.

[Nyers] Many kinds of figures were heard. I have also read the figure of 65,000 in relation to the MSZMP. Look, they admit that they do not have it documented. In our case the 50,000 members are a documented 50,000 members. That is certain. It does not surprise me that from the viewpoint of membership numbers the MSZMP is a party that is rapidly getting on its feet, rapidly growing, up to a certain limit, and that it has a large membership. This does not surprise me at all. The question is what attraction it will exert at the elections and what future it has.

Nemeth on Budget Compromises

LD1812205689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The budget came up today at the news conference held by Miklos Nemeth together with the West German chancellor.

[Begin Nemeth recording] The government cannot subordinate the budget or its program to any party interest, because it would be putting at risk the greatest thing, the country's future. The way I see it now, after this morning's committee sessions, is that, retaining the fundamental, supporting pillars within their frameworks, we can see rational compromises for next year's program and budget, including the harsh measures of housing management, getting the confidence of parliament.

This is a very risky statement now on my part, but I trust that parliament deputies have understood the situation and that they will shoulder the same responsibility the government shoulders. [end recording]

[Announcer] Chancellor Kohl, speaking about the same thing prior to this, said that the deputies must show courage in the interest of the country's future. [passage omitted]

MTI Sums Up 1st Day at National Assembly

LD1812225889 Budapest MTI in English 2133 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, Dec 18 (MTI)—After parliament modified the criminal procedure, Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi presented a proposal on the amendment to the Law on Levies and Fees, aimed at adjusting the legal rulings to the Law on Emigration and Immigration which comes into force on January 1. The motion was carried by a decisive majority.

Then, the members of the government, the president of the Supreme Court and the chief public prosecutor took an oath before parliament on the new Constitution of the Republic of Hungary.

Parliament adopted the bill on the social security budget, under which pensions are to be raised by 800 forints on average next year.

The bill on the Amendment to Social Security, which extends the range of eligibility for a widow's allowance, was also carried.

Parliament discussed the organization, staff and budget of the State Audit Office, and decided to return to the subject in January.

The session was then adjourned by the presiding Lajos Horvath.

The Tuesday agenda is expected to include debate on the government's programme for next year and the reform of housing policies.

Berecz Addresses National Assembly 19 Dec

LD2012101689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1157 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Speech by deputy Janos Berecz at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Thank you for allowing me to speak, madam chairwoman. I ask for the patience of my esteemed fellow deputies while I impart a piece of information. From the press it is known that the 14th MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] congress held its first session on Sunday, whose task it was to demonstrate that the party had formed itself anew and got on its two feet.

In a long and hard but constructive debate, it created its organizational statute, and it is only fitting that a few important stipulations of the organizational statute should also be brought before the National Assembly.

The organizational statute lays down that in its activity the MSZMP respects the Constitution and the constitutional rules of law; that it performs its work on the basis of the law on association and the laws regulating the parties' operation and management. For this reason it prescribes it as a duty of the membership to observe the laws and to discipline or break with those who infringe them.

At the same time, the organizational statute rejects bureaucratic centralism; it considers the rules of democracy as the basis of its operation, and for this reason it has made a two-tier decision. Only the basic organizations and the congress as well as the Central Committee can make decisions relating to the party and to its operation.

It has elected its leadership. The average age of the chairman and of the three deputy chairmen is 38 years. The operative leadership, which consists of 14 people, has an average age of 47 years.

It has begun the debate on the draft political declaration. It has deemed it suitable to be submitted to debate before a party membership of some 100,000 and to be finalized at the second session due to be held in January.

The draft political declaration is in harmony with the draft organizational statute.

The MSZMP's parliamentary group renewed its activity at the latest session and its members took part in the congress with the right to vote. Yesterday the parliamentary group, consisting of some 20 persons, held a session. It elected me to be its leading spokesman.

I ask those fellow deputies who have been thinking about whether they want to support the MSZMP's parliamentary group to come and report to me, and tomorrow we shall hold a further session during the lunch break. Thank you for your attention.

Nemeth Attends Control Committee Session

LD2112003889 Budapest MTI in English 2049 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 19 (MTI)—The Central People's Control Committee (CPCC) held its last session on Tuesday [19 December] before its disbanding at the end of the year.

The closing session was attended by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

CPCC Chairman Laszlo Ballai said that during the 32 years of its existence, the organization carried out 20,000 checks with the participation of 660,000 controllers, and examined about 220,000 reports of public concern.

Miklos Nemeth stated that the CPCC has to be dissolved because of the irreversible changes. After considering whether it would be more expedient to update the CPCC or to set up the state audit office, the government responsibly decided in favour of the latter option.

With regard to the tasks facing the country and its citizens and the issue of answerability, the prime minister said that attention should be focussed on the present and the future, although this is not to mean that nobody should be called to account for the past errors. However, he stressed, everybody has to be offered the chance of correcting mistakes so that accounting should not turn into a showdown.

Opposition Figures Discuss Next Government

LD1112123789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 9 Dec 89

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] [Presenter] The Hungarian government, with considerable haste, has called for a 3-day national summit for this weekend. According to observers, the national bargaining of 16 parties, which is taking place behind closed doors, serves the purpose that the government should not introduce the extraordinary unpopular measures of the next few months—which are, however, unavoidable due to the state of the country—alone, but with the participation of the opposition parties, in order that the responsibility would also be shared.

The decisionmaking has to be shared also for the reason that the next government probably will be formed mostly from those who are in the opposition at the moment. Do the parties want to share? Jozsef Orosz interviewed Peter Tolgyessy, executive of the Free Democrats, and Anna Petrasovits, chairwoman of the Social Democrats, after the consultation yesterday. The government deputy chairman will also give his views.

[Begin recording] [Orosz] Are the opposition parties willing to go into the street, which the government, I think, is trying to entice them to do? That is, to avoid the bankruptcy of the country, the government has to take very drastic steps as soon as possible. However, I feel

that this government is so alone that it desperately needs the support of the parties for its measures, because, perhaps, they can legitimize these steps.

[Tolgyessy] Precisely, this is what it is all about. The government leaders, incidentally, have also said that they want to broaden the social basis of governing. This can be discussed because it is really necessary for the government to bring in restrictive measures. However, it must be clear that the opposition cannot undertake responsibility for the serious mistakes of the past 40 years.

The opposition can go so far as not to attack the government for party political reasons, and it will only do this if it considers that the government measures are against the interests of the nation.

[Petrasovits] The opposition got into a very difficult situation because free elections in Hungary are necessary as soon as possible. The international financial world also urges this. However, we have emerged in a period when the country has just arrived at the edge of the precipice. It is more and more unlikely that we shall be able to postpone the elections until June, because, according to our calculations, the process will culminate approximately in March, that is, after the elections. Thus, the people will feel that there was a change of government, a change of power, and perhaps, this was precisely the reason why the trouble occurred.

The government presently has launched a restrictive and corrective policy. This has very unpleasant and embarrassing consequences both for the enterprises and for the population alike, and for inflation, unemployment, and other issues. The guiding of this process should be carried out by the present government; this 6-month crisis management should be done by the power mechanism and government that, in fact, initiated it.

Thus, my worry is that the opposition parties will be led into a trap that probably is going to shut in March.

[Tolgyessy] Well, as regards the notion of the trap. to my opinion, the country is the only one that will be trapped [words indistinct]. I feel that if we postpone the date of the elections, then the opposition really ought to undertake responsibility regarding the fate of the country so that our views are coordinated with those of the government in some sort of series of talks. Otherwise, we take responsibility without power.

We have no power to increase prices, to cut taxes, to intervene in the pension system so that we are unable to remedy the problems of those on small pensions and so on. Thus, these powers are all in the hands of the authorities. But the responsibility belongs to the government. It belongs there because it also possesses the power.

[Orosz] Besides this, however, I think that there is an enormous trick here on the part of the governing party, that is, if the government is forced to take draconian measures on its own, this is equivalent to a knockout for the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] in the election fight.

However, if they manage to pass on part of the burden of governing to the parties and the opposition, this would mean a much more favorable position in the elections for the ruling party.

[Tolgyessy] This is undoubtedly so. The Alliance of Free Democrats never wants to be a party like the HSP is still today, or like the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. The interest of the country unequivocally requires elections as soon as possible. Simply, very important decisions have to be made as soon as possible, and, in my view, these decisions can only be undertaken by an authentic parliament responsible to the people and government responsible to the people. Here, political change is needed, and only a new, and to my mind, opposition coalition can undertake the task of starting to sort out the crisis because this opposition will not be a prisoner of the past 40 years, will not be a prisoner of the general managers and the various lobbies.

[Petrasovits] I agree with this completely because the situation at the moment is that it is more risky to handle certain political lobbies of big enterprises with a strong hand immediately and perhaps it seems to them that it is expedient to put certain burdens on the population. But there is an enormous risk here, since if they really hit the wall here, and social dissatisfaction seriously takes shape, far greater trouble will ensue than if they settle the account with this economic-political lobby right now with a very strong hand.

[Tolgyessy] If the elections are announced for March, that only means a few months. The crisis management has to be started in these few months. These lobbies have to be faced and the country will have to be handed over fairly and honestly to the new government of the new Hungary in the hope that the crisis can be remedied. This country is ready for elections and our election law prescribes an election campaign of 90 days. So if elections are announced, the campaign will start immediately. Naturally, the country must not be left without a master during this 90 days. Therefore, the government and the parliament have to be in their places. However, in my view—and I consider this very important—neither the government nor the Parliament should introduce decisions binding on the new Hungary. They should merely manage for these 3 months.

[Petrasovits] It would only be possible to take over the country in real terms if a complete inventory, an assessment of the national assets is made. We would like to know what sort of foreign debts we have. We are being informed about further and further debts. It is possible that when we take over the government, it will come to light that another debt of 4 or 5 billion is weighing on the country. For this, the 3 months are not enough. Thus, I say this as an economist, there is not a responsible opposition force that in March, having won the elections and having got into some sort of coalition government,

could start a new era here. Because the past will haunt us, it will haunt us economically.

[Orosz] According to Finance Minister Peter Medgyessy, does the Hungarian government really need the support of the opposition and the parties? The reason I ask this is that if we talk about an honest government, then the measures that might cause public uproar will have to be taken anyhow.

Thus, why do they have to be made legitimate by the opposition separately?

[Medgyessy] I am convinced that it is a vital interest of these parties that the necessary measures should be taken in the economy in order that they should not have to take over a country in total bankruptcy or that they should not have to participate in political power within these circumstances. Thus, here, the interest of the parties is at least as great as that of the government.

[Orosz] Well, you are right in this, but the parties and the opposition can only try incantation as a means of pressing the government to take actual steps against the economic lobbies and powers in order that liquidation of loss-making enterprises should actually be started, and so on, and so on, because the opposition does not posses any real means to enforce its own economic policy.

[Medgyessy] Let me say two things; one is that the opposition does not have to press the government to take these steps because the government wants to take these steps by its own will and decision. The opposition should not oppose this: On the contrary, it should help this according to its possibilities.

As regards the means, I think that the opposition has a considerable influence on the population. So why should not there be a possibility and means for it to support a policy that also serves its interests, or at least that it should not impede this?

We have agreed, or it was discussed, that talks like this will have to be organized in the coming months, too. We have also agreed on questions such as, for example, if earlier elections do take place, for example in March, the National Assembly—obviously on the basis of its own decision—would carry out certain activity and it might adopt laws facilitating the transition. In this case, a consultation with the parties is also necessary so that steps should be taken with conditions, which would facilitate this undisturbed transition. Thus, government would be by a quasi-coalition method, by a pre-coalition method.

[Orosz] Have you heard the voices of the streets that ask whether the Hungarian economy and Hungary itself can stand it at all until the March elections, or until June, or the fall elections, since agreement was not yet reached on this question at the national summit?

[Medgyessy] This is why it is of fundamental significance that there should be an accepted state budget and that next year's economy should have an approved framework. There should be a crisis-handling program looking ahead for half a year or a year at least on which the economy can be built. Without this, incidentally, agreement cannot be reached with the IMF. And here, I would like to say again that our talks with the IMF are going well, there is a chance for agreement if the National Assembly can accept the budget and the economic activity described in the budget.

[Orosz] I detect in your words—and not only in yours but in everybody else's who spoke on the radio and television in the past few days—that 1 and ½ weeks before the December session of the National Assembly, well, work on the National Assembly has started.

[Medgyessy] Naturally, this is political life and political struggle, and this is what one has to get accustomed to in the next several years. Society, public opinion, and policy-makers have to be convinced that this is the right direction, and if not, these ideas have to be corrected. This process is taking place now. [end recording]

Labor Chief on Rising Unemployment

LD1412120689 Budapest MTI in English 0759 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest. December 13 (MTI)—'The State Office for Wages and Labour (ABMH) does not count on the number of unemployed reaching 100,000 next year. The unemployed can, however, count on assistance, said Ferenc Munkacsy, head of department at ABMH, in an interview with MTI. Mr Munkacsy was commenting on the words of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. Who recently said the number of unemployed can, within a few months, climb to 100,000, in view of the powerful reduction of ruble-accounting exports. The effects of accelerating the closure of loss-making companies will also influence large-scale unemployment.

Alongside providing aid, ABMH also supports retraining, and the unemployed can utilize the re-starting (entrepreneurial) or career- starting loan, the amount of which has been raised to 400,000 forints. The office will also contribute to job-creating projects. Several other forms of assistance are available in certain districts termed as critical. The National Interest Coordination Council can rank one or more economic units as critical districts in case at least 1,000 jobs are terminated and 25 per cent of the dismissed workers are unable to find new jobs. Areas where the number of unemployed receiving aid adds up to 5 per cent of the active earners can also be qulaified as a critical district. Workers in these areas can utilize state severance pay which can total average earnings of at most 24 months, and the re-settlement loan which totals 500,000 forints. Severance pay can be supplemented with the mentioned entrepreneurial loan of 400,000 forints.

Mr Munkacsy also discussed the sources available. According to ABMH information, the employment fund is to be raised to 8,000 million forints in 1990 from the 2,400 million forints in 1989. Although this seems to be a major increase, only about 4,500 million forints can be

utilized for the former goals. According to estimates, the remainder shall have to be used to assist persons with decreased working capacities.

Labor Office's Halmos on Social Security

AU2712081089 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Dec 89 pp 1, 5

[Report on interview with Csaba Halmos, chairman of the State Office for Wages and Labor Affairs, by Miklos Z. Hajduska; date and place note given: "Csaba Halmos on Unemployment, Social Security—Income-Supplement Allowances, Trainee System, Tax Exemptions to Investors, Severance Pay"]

[Excerpts] A new phenomenon that society is finding difficult to accept has joined the deteriorating standard of living and the increasing prices, namely open unemployment. Csaba Halmos gave an interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP and MTI on the government efforts aimed at creating employment and social security.

[Hajduska] The number of unemployed persons in Hungary is currently only about 4,000, but this could increase to even 100,000 next year. What can employees expect in this situation?

[Halmos] The government cannot promise to keep every job, and the elimination of inefficient workplaces and useless jobs is a key issue. The main effort is to make sure that unemployment is only a short and transitional phenomenon, and to guarantee social security in this period. For this, we will also regroup funds deriving from the reduction of subsidies.

[Hajduska] Can all this be solved only with money?

[Halmos] Of course not. The offices of the labor affairs service network in Budapest and in bigger towns, as well as the local councils are providing assistance to the unemployed and the people in danger of losing their jobs. [passage omitted]

[Hajduska] Retraining is one means of changing professions....

[Halmos] I would say that retraining is one of the major elements of the employment policy. The state is assisting the retraining of the unemployed by organizing retraining courses and paying the expenses, and the participants in these courses receive an income supplement that is higher than the unemployment benefit. I must add that, as of next year, we will also be able to support the retraining program of workers awaiting dismissal. [passage omitted]

[Hajduska] Youth organizations have repeatedly asked, what about those who are starting out on their careers?

[Halmos] If they do not find adequate jobs, higher education graduates will be able to make use of the opportunities provided by trainee employment. They can request this at the county labor exchange offices that will seek adequate employment for them. [passage omitted]

[Hajduska] What will happen to those who do not find any job?

[Halmos] Older people are in the most difficult situation, people who are reluctant to change their professions. A flexible retirement age would be a solution, but until then there is a system of preferential retirement (maximum 5 years before retirement age). This system will become more flexible in the future and will be based on mutual agreement. The other large-scale system is the unemployment benefit; people who worked regularly prior to becoming unemployed are eligible to receive unemployment benefits. These benefits can be used for a maximum 365 days within 3 years. [passage omitted]

Ribanszki Notes MDF Complaint Against Him

AU1112125189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Dec 89 p 4

[Interview with Rober Ribanszki, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) official, by Peter E. Kovary: "MSZMP-Aktiv in Bekescsaba in Bekescsaba on 1 December: "Ribanszki on Complaint Filed Against Him"]

[Text] The newly organizing Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] held a county aktiv meeting in Bekescsaba on 1 December with the participation of more than 100 organizers representing some 2,000 MSZMP members. The aktiv meeting was held in preparation of the MSZMP congress scheduled for 17 December. Robert Ribanszki, secretary of the Provisional Presidium in charge of reorganizing the MSZMP, gave an opening lecture on the tasks of the congress, the situation of the MSZMP, and its present and future role.

Making use of this opportunity, our correspondent asked Robert Ribanszki about his reaction to the MDF complaint to the public prosecutor charging him with public instigation.

[Ribanszki] I have not received any notification of this, and I learned from NEPSZABADSAG about the fact that the people in Mezohegyes denounced me after reading my statements in the county newspaper DEL-KELET.

[Kovary] Is it true that you used expressions like bastards, good-for-nothings, and brats when speaking about the Union of Free Democrats [FIDESZ] and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]?

[Ribanszki] Yes, I did that within a circle of friends and comrades. On 15 November, I participated in a meeting in Bekescsaba of local organizers of the newly created and organizing MSZMP, and, therefore, I considered with full justification that I was among my own friends and comrades. I held a long analyzing lecture, and I tried to make people feel the great pressure under which our

party has come now. Therefore, I pointed out that the FIDESZ is attacking us in an organized way, that is, it is obvious that this organization does not determine its targets from its own fountainhead. With this, I only wanted to stress that it is impossible that a few hundred such young people achieved everything they did on their own. It is also necessary to say that much more offensive expressions have already been hurled at the Communists in public!

[Kovary] The MDF organization in Mezohegyes felt that, even without mentioning names, your words were clearly directed against them.

[Ribanszki] I can now swear that these people did not even cross my mind, and the MDF was not essential here, because I concentrated on the FIDESZ. I have witnesses to this.

[Kovary] Do you think of a trial?

[Ribanszki] We will see. I think that in this trial—if there is such a trial or the public prosecutor accuses me—we will point out that we are talking here about such an incorrect attitude that compels us to pursue the matter, because the matter is not simply Robert Ribanszki! I have been accused as one of the reorganizers of the MSZMP. Recently, one of the members of the MDF leadership in Bekescsaba wrote an article in the newspaper 168 HOURS in which he clearly accused Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati, Frigyes Puja, and myself of having contacts with the Romanian secret service. At the time, we did not want to blow this thing up, but it seems that others are not so loyal. In other words, if they want a trial, let it be!

Nyers Discusses End of 'Traditional' Communism

PM1812110889 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 13 Dec 89 p 2

[Interview with Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Rezso Nyers by Pietro Spataro—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] Budapest—[Passage omitted] [Spataro] Mr chairman, Italian Communist Party [PCI] Secretary General Achille Occhetto has proposed to the party initiating a constituent period to build a new left-wing grouping. How do you judge this option?

[Nyers] My opinion is that the PCI has long pursued a path that eliminates the old policy of the traditional communist parties. I attended the PCI congress in 1962: Togliatti was still alive and there was discussion of the policy of structural reforms. At that time this idea was not in harmony with the line of the Eastern [Europe] communist parties: They really could not understand what Togliatti wanted. So the PCI secretary was sharply criticized. But I recall that here in Hungary I fought in support of this discussion, saying that in Italy's situation that line was appropriate and acceptable.

[Spataro] So in your opinion did the PCI start becoming something different from the Eastern communist parties even in Togliatti's day?

[Nyers] I want to say that this "separation" began then, under Togliatti. In the Yalta memorandum he made it clear that the PCI did not want to follow the path indicated by the CPSU and the Eastern communist parties. I also attended another PCI congress, at the time of Luigi Longo. I observed the same stance on his part on this matter as Togliatti's. However, I do not believe that he subsequently made any great progress in this direction. Then came Berlinguer, who opened this path again. So in my opinion this detachment of the PCI from orthodox communism started back in the sixties under Togliatti and later continued under Berlinguer. The conclusion of this process, this new way of thinking, is for the PCI to put an end once and for all to communism as it was traditionally conceived in the thirties and forties.

[Spataro] What do you believe should be the next steps on this autonomous path pursued by Italian Communists?

[Nyers] I believe that this change must be reflected primarily in its platform. And later also in a change of name. Indeed, I believe that the change of course will be made even clearer if the PCI ceases to be called that. By changing its name, the party will make its policy clearer.

[Spataro] So are you a convinced supporter of the proposal now being discussed by the PCI?

[Nyers] I welcome this new change taking place within the PCI. But you must take my opinion only as the approval of an ally who is not neutral and who is, therefore, perhaps not too objective, because he is on the same side...

[Spataro] Almost the whole of the East is now affected by disruptive upheavals. From Poland to Bulgaria, from East Germany to Czechoslovakia, and even here in your country people are going into the streets to demand democracy and freedom. Does this prove that communism has failed?

[Spataro] What is happening in the East is a result of the failure of ideological communism. That is, we are witnessing the collapse of the idea that there can be a form of democracy not approved of by the majority of the population—a democracy without consensus. From this viewpoint, it can certainly be said that we are witnessing the failure of communism. It is the failure of the hypothesis whereby it was desired to achieve communism all at once, with a revolution, overnight. Now, however, we realize that the process is slower and longer. I am sure that the world is moving toward socialism and that at some point it will also move toward communism. But it will have to be a democratic form of communism. However, this is a matter for the distant future, an aim that can only be achieved through a global revolution involving almost the whole world.

[Spataro] Are you basically arguing that the October Revolution—understood as an act of breaking away, a sudden jump—has failed?

[Nyers] I am saying that what is failing is the idea that a revolution such as the October Revolution in Russia could change the world and lead to communism overnight. The world cannot be changed like that, in leaps: This is a mechanical hypothesis, which is perhaps based on an idea of Marx's but to which certain erroneous elements have been added. In conclusion, I would like to say that the idea and line of the Third International have failed.

[Spataro] Should the rubble that surrounds us, the crisis of the regimes in the East, prompt us to say that communism is finished forever?

[Nyers] Communism as a system of ideas has not lost its topicality. If we regard it as a system of socialist and radical ideas and, above all, as a policy, communism is not waning. I believe that to achieve socialism it is necessary to fight harder with radical forms than the social democratic parties do. Only thus can we open the way to a form of socialism interpreted as radical revolution. So the failure of communism does not automatically entail the failure of socialism. I believe that today sees the end only of communism understood in the old way.

Further Reportage on Reaction to Romanian Events

New Government Recognized

LD2612182989 Warsaw PAP in English
1737 GMT 26 Dec 89

["Poland Recognizes New Romanian Authorities"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 26—In connection with a change of public authority in Romania the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs explains that, since the beginning of the formation of Romania's National Salvation Front, it has been maintaining normal relations in a full scope of government issues with the front, which means the recognition of the National Salvation Front as the sole organ authoritative for representing Romania.

Mazowiecki Greets New Counterpart

LD2612224189 Warsaw PAP in English
2134 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 26—In connection with the appointment of Petre Roman to the post of prime minister of the Government of Romania, Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki sent him a message of best wishes.

"I deeply believe that the government led by you will manage, basing on the support of broad social forces, to take the country out of the present, especially difficult situation, and to ensure it a favourable development in the conditions of true freedom and democracy.

"I wish you full success in this lofty cause and once again assure of the readiness to develop relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries," said the message.

The Polish prime minister offered sympathy to the Romanian nation in view of its losses and sufferings and condolences to the families of all the victims.

Jaruzelski Sends Message

LD2612231989 Warsaw PAP in English
2230 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 26—Poland President Wojciech Jaruzelski sent a message to Ion Iliescu, chairman of the National Salvation Front, with best wishes of favourable solving the difficult tasks facing Romania.

"On your hands I send cordial greetings for the fraternal Romanian nation. We share your pain caused by the tragic events which brought such great losses and sufferings to Romanian society"

"The Polish nation is at one with the Romanian nation in its striving for shaping new life in free, democratic and just motherland.

"I want to assure you that the authorities of the Polish People's Republic come out fully in favour of friendship, constructive cooperation in the interest of both states and nations", reads the message.

AFP Reports Walesa View of Events

AU2412151189 Paris AFP in English
1456 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, Dec 24 (AFP)—Lech Walesa, leader of Poland's Solidarity movement, Sunday condemned the bloodbath in Romania which "ruined the festive spirit" in East Europe, but added that the current upheaval was "predictable".

"I was under the impression that reform could take place in East Europe in a peaceful fashion," he said in an interview with France's private TF1 television channel.

"But this Cossack (ousted dictator Nicolae Ceasescu) was there killing everybody and ruining the festive spirit at the end of the year".

"Everything going on in Romania was predictable," he contended. "I said in my trips to the United States and Britain that the days of the Ceausescu regime were numbered.

"I hoped he (Mr. Ceausescu) would understand and begin reforms as quickly as possible. I didn't want reform at such a cost."

Making comparisons with the domestic reform process which has led to a Solidarity-dominated government, Mr. Walesa added: "Those countries that have not yet begun should understand that there only are two roads: Poland's calm, peaceful, evolving ... or the Romanian tragedy dangerous."

"When reforms are necessary, they will take place anyway," he added in a live interview from his hometown, the northern port city of Gdansk.

Daily Calls for East European Integration

AU2712081989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Dec 89 pp 1, 5

[Katarzyna Kolodziejczyk commentary: "A Parliament for Our Europe"]

[Text] It is astounding to consider the number of scenarios that political scientists in the West have elaborated for a future Europe. None of these scenarios envisaged the present developments in central and Eastern Europe. Totally preoccupied by the idea of detente and dialogue within the framework of Helsinki and the CSCE process, these scientists have forgotten the fact that between East and West there lie countries with a political traditions dating back 1,000 years, with their own specific cultures. Caught up in the sphere of Soviet influence after World War II, these countries always desired, and continue to desire, nothing more than to regain full independence and sovereignty. This is not the first time that these countries have decided to demand their rights, take their fate into their own hands, and not

sit passively waiting for greater powers to designate the place for such countries in any successive scenario.

Time favors the efforts of these countries. The fever of change is sweeping through Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and the GDR, not to mention Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. If the word "revolution" had not become so devalued, it would be the precise term that could best characterize the essential nature of these changes. If this premise is correct, then this is a special revolution. Its crowning glory comes from the fact that until now it has not been accompanied by the clash of weapons or fratricidal life or lethal conflicts.

However, the harshness of the reality has cast a shadow over the joy. On the one hand, the disintegration of the single-party system has exposed the full extent of the economic ruin in these countries, and, on the other hand, this collapse has resurrected the old nightmares: past conflicts over borders and minorities; return of the old fears about possible domination by your neighbor; prejudices and phobias; and mutual anxieties.

Experiences of these countries from the not too distant past teach us that the determined pursuance of mutual recriminations gave minimal results, and what is more, exposed each of these countries to much greater losses.

The year 1992 approaches, and with it the anticipated integration of the "twelve" countries of the European Economic Community. A tired Europe desires to renew itself, and with this in mind, it needs peace and stabilization as it has never done before. Sometime in the future, the countries of central and East Europe will wish to join this Europe.

As long as the process of reforms in these countries takes a peaceful course, it will be seen as one of the elements of a Europe that is renewing itself, and these countries will benefit from the support of Western countries and be viewed in a favorable light by the Soviet Union. The opposite also holds true. It is not difficult to imagine that any tensions and conflicts between the countries of central and Eastern Europe could easily disrupt the democratic changes within these countries, as well as jeopardize the idea that these countries could ever return to the European fold.

The organizations, and unofficial groupings—in a nutshell, all the democratic forces which have assumed a leading role in the reform process taking place in their respective countries—must be aware of this danger. It would be beneficial if, even today, they were clear in their minds how they would counteract the feelings which reanimate the old grievances. All the more so as today—as never before—there exist strong and sincere ties of friendship between the leading representatives of these organizations; friendships that have been formed over a long period. The most spectacular example of this is the friendship between Adam Michnik and Vaclav Havel.

There is another side to the problems that have surfaced through this harsh reality. It often happens to be the case that the boundary between the issues which are essential, and those that result from mutual prejudice, or from a lack of finesse, or a different comprehension of the political culture related to the coexistence between states, begins to get very hazy. One can give many examples, some important, some less so. One could give examples even from the developments brought by the last few weeks. One has only to mention decisions that restrict the freedoms of citizens of other countries.

We know that the reforms in central and East European countries are our only chance, and we shall not get another. We also know that these changes will not free us from difficult and complex problems. On the contrary, it is with great relief that we accepted the fact that we can at long last talk openly about all issues, even the most difficult ones, and we no longer and with embarrassment have to conceal these issues in the name of dubious ideological principles. Today, we have mutual goals which each country of central and Eastern Europe wishes to solve in its own way, and in a manner that is specific to itself.

A great opportunity has arisen: We now have the possibility to benefit from—even in the sphere of relations between countries—the blessings of compromise; sensible concessions, if need be; and above all, from all the blessings of democracy....

It is worth giving some thought to the question whether the time is now ripe for the formation of a parliament, or forum composed of representatives from the countries of central and Eastern Europe; a body that would represent the social movements and organizations whose goals are democratic change and the idea of a new Europe.

In order to tidy up all the joint issues existing between the small states, bilateral negotiations between the two interested parties will not be sufficient. Many problems will require joint decisions, and above all, these decisions will have to be referred for acceptance to the interested societies.

In all countries that are undergoing deep changes, there exist social movements and organizations that are more or less official. These movements can produce people who have great political experience and moral authority. Such people would be the most credible representatives of their respective country's interests in this future parliament. One can clearly state that even today, the lack of such a place or forum is becoming widely felt; a place or forum where binding decisions can be reached, even if such decisions were to be restricted to matters touching on the reform process, or the immediate future of these countries.

There were periods in the past when the small countries made efforts at closer integration. These attempts did not stand a chance because at those particular times this idea was not in harmony with the climate of the prevailing international situation. The interests of the large powers favored divisions and conflicts between small

countries. After all, it was chiefly at the small countries' expense that new orders were imposed after each succeeding cataclysm.

Today, when the struggle of perestroyka and glasnost continues to be played out in the Soviet Union; when the Germans are preoccupied with the question of reunification; and when the other countries of Western Europe are busy with the regeneration of the old continent, a unique opportunity for the integration of the countries of central and Eastern Europe seems to have arisen. The formation of a joint parliament could help toward this process. Otherwise, we shall continue to dream of a better future for a very long time to come, and we shall continue be regarded by others as unwelcome intruders on our own European continent.

Mazowiecki Issues Christmas Message

LD2712101189 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 26 —On the Christmas Eve Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki went on television to convey Christmas greetings to his compatriots.

He said, among other things: We are and will be making our Polish home by ourselves. We will take it out of trouble and will organize it so that law will mean law and justice will mean justice. And we should be aware how much we have already accomplished.

With pain we are thinking about what is taking place and what took place in Romania. We think about mourning, about those who fell. We offer sympathy and our thoughts are with those who want also that country to organize in conditions of freedom. We wish them to accomplish that aim.

(In view of what happened in Romania) we must the more so appreciate our road of solving problems in the spirit of peace and reconciliation, understanding and searching for such solutions which do not lead to acute conflicts. And we have attained this in this year of 1990. I believe that we have the right to be satisfied at this road, at the achievements which we attained this year, at those great achievements of freedom which will be bearing fruit in the years to come, at those great changes which we are introducing. We are following this road. We appreciate what we have achieved. May everyday problems, the problems of tomorrow, not obscure what is our joint gain, what was possible to achieve thanks to the attitude of Polish society.

New Appointments to Radio, TV, Energy Posts

LD1512221889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers has recalled Jozef Krolikowski, Roman (Pilardy), and Jerzy Slabicki from the posts of deputy chairman of the Radio and Television Affairs Committee. He appointed Jan Dworak, Jozef Kowalczyk, and Lew Rywin to the vacated posts. The chairman of the Council of Ministers has recalled Dr Mieczyslaw Sowinski from the post of chairman of the National Atomic Energy Agency, and appointed Professor Roman Zelazny to this post.

First Privately Owned Paper Published 21 Dec

LD2312110789 Warsaw PAP in English 1756 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Koszalin, Dec 21—The first issue of the first privately-owned evening paper in Poland hit the newsstands in this northwestern Polish provincial capital today.

It is called GONIEC POMORSKI and its owner is Zdzislawa Piatkowska, the proprietor of an advertising and publishing agency here.

The impression of the first issue is 50,000 copies. It is being sold in two coastal provinces.

The editors plan to publish fresh issues every three days starting January 12, and turn the publication into a daily in February 1990.

Further on Ceausescus' Downfall, Execution

Fall of Regime

AU2512215489 Paris AFP in English 2135 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 25 (AFP)—The meteoric fall of Romania's dictator Nicolae Ceausescu was provoked by his own secret police, a member of the National Salvation Committee was quoted as saying in a Belgrade newspaper Tuesday.

The BORBA daily did not name the member of the committee, which has formed a provisional government and promised democratic elections in April. Romanian television said Monday that the Ceausescus had been executed by firing squad.

It quoted the committee member as saying that Romania was ruled by Ceausescu's wife Elena during the dictator's trip to Tehran last week. It was the immensely powerful Elena who gave the order to fire on thousands of demonstrators in the western Romanian town of Timisoara, killing up to 5,000 men, women and children, BORBA quoted the committee member as saying. But Defence Minister Vasile Milea refused to obey the order, and instructed the Army not to use force.

On Ceausescu's return to Bucharest, he held a stormy meeting with General Milea and threatened to put him on trial. The general was reported to have committed suicide soon afterwards.

The feared Securitate secret police then advised Ceausescu to flee his home to escape rough justice at the hands of an enraged people, according to the report. The dictator boarded a helicopter, apparently hoping to take refuge in a secret bunker. At that point the fledgling National Salvation Committee took over Bucharest's television and radio studios and announced Ceausescu's fall.

The news triggered an explosion of joy among the Romanian people and in the Armed Forces—except the Securitate, which remained loyal to the dictator and tried to recapture the television and radio studios, provoking bloody clashes with the Army and civilians, the committee member told BORBA.

Trial Reported on Radio

AU2712024289 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romania 2200 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Summary From Poor Reception] After lots of noise in the background, a clearly heard voice says, "70-170. Anyway..." probably meaning Ceausescu's blood pressure. Then the same voice asks, "Do you have any complaints?"

Elena answers, "Pardon?" The question is repeated and Elena answers, "No, no complaints."

Another voice says, "You are in front of the People's Tribunal, the new legal body of the country."

Ceausescu says, "I do not recognize any tribunal but the Grand National Assembly [GNA]. A state coup cannot be recognized."

"We try you in accordance with the [word indistinct] of the Council of the National Salvation Front. Accused, please stand up."

Ceausescu says, "Read the country's Constitution [words indistinct] the Grand National Assembly."

Another voice says, "You want us to read the Constitution? We know it better then you, who have never observed it."

Someone, who may represent the defense, says, "We are here to defend the two accused. Mr Ceausescu, you have the chance to tell us what made you [words indistinct]. The bodies that you are calling in your defense have been ceased in accordance with the wishes of the people." The same voice says a few more words which are indistinct.

Ceausescu says, "I do not recognize you."

An unidentified speaker says, "Although you have been holding a dialogue with the people for the past 20 years, now you are not able to talk with the representatives of the people?"

Another voice says, "[Passage indistinct] this was in the entrance hall, and in the most luxurious clothes, receiving more fuss than a queen—all of this done by robbing the people, while speaking in the name of the people, and today you do not want to cooperate with the people?"

A clearer voice, possibly that of the prosecutor, says, "I ask the prosecutor's office to read the charges."

"Today we have to try Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu, who are guilty of serious crimes against the people, which are incompatible with human dignity, for the despotic way in which they behaved toward the people. For these crimes we consider these two guilty and ask the tribunal to sentence them to death." Some charges are read: "For organizing actions which were meant to lessen the state power; for creating diversion, [words indistinct] destroying assets, [words indistinct] undermining the national economy of the people. Have you heard this, accused? Please stand up!"

Ceausescu says, "Everything that has been said is a lie. I recognize only the Grand National Assembly. I do not recognize this tribunal." An unidentified speaker asks him something inaudible and Ceausescu answers, "I will not sign anything."

The prosecutor says, "You know the disastrous situation of the country that prevailed until 22 December 1989. You are aware of the lack of medicine, heating [words indistinct]." Elena says something that is indistinct.

The prosecutor says, "I am talking now to Nicolae Ceausescu, not to Elena. Who gave the order to the Army to shoot young people in Timisoara? Do you know about the bloodbath in Bucharest, which is still going on? Children, women are being killed by some fanatics. Who trained these fanatics? We, the people, or you?"

Ceausescu says, "I do not want to answer any questions but I [words indistinct] that nobody has been shot in the Square of the Palace of the Republic."

An unidentified voice asks, "Who ordered firing in Bucharest and in every large town? Who ordered the destruction of establishments built through the efforts of the people, [words indistinct] who made the cream of your society leave this country because of the situation created here? Who paid those mercenaries? Who ordered these mercenaries who are carrying out this bloodbath to come into Romania?"

Ceausescu answers, "I will only answer questions in front of the Grand National Assembly."

The prosecutor asks, "Who directs the mercenaries who are carrying out terrorist actions? Elena Ceausescu, doctor, engineer, academician—generally you speak a lot. Why are you silent now?"

Elena says, "My colleagues will hear you [words indistinct]."

The prosecutor asks, "Who stops you from talking?"

Ceausescu says, "I will only speak in front of the Grand National Assembly and the representatives of the workers class! I only recognize the GNA and the workers class. I do not recognize those who lead a coup."

Another voice says, "The Grand National Assembly has been dismantled. Through the unflinching will of the people we have another body of power, the Council of the National Salvation Front."

Ceausescu says, "The people will fight against this gang of traitors who, with foreign help, succeeded in this coup."

Another voice asks, "What are these people fighting for throughout the country?"

Ceausescu says, "For their existence, independence, and sovereignty."

The prosecutor says, "You say that this forum has been created with foreign help? [Passage indistinct]"

Ceausescu says, "I do not recognize it. But I hope that in the future you will tell the truth and you will not work for Romania's destruction."

The prosecutor says, "Do you know that you have been dismissed from your position as head of the party and president of the country, and that you have lost all of your other positions? Are the accused aware of this fact? Are they aware that they face trial as two simple citizens?"

Ceausescu answers, "I am president of the country and supreme commander of the Army. I do not recognize you. You are simple citizens and I answer only in front of the GNA. I do not answer those who, with the assistance of foreign organizations, carried out this coup."

The prosecutor asks, "Why did you take these measures of bringing the Romanian people to this state of humiliation today? To export everything that they have produced? Why did you starve this nation that you represented?"

Ceausescu says, "I will not answer your questions, but I will tell you that for the first time a cooperative worker received 200 kg of wheat per person, not per family, but per person. These are lies that you are saying and you are not patriots." Then he says something about schools and health units in villages.

The prosecutor says, "[Words indistinct] systematization, that actually meant the destruction of our villages."

Ceausescu said, "There has never been such a level of development in the villages as there is today. We have built schools, ensured that there are physicians, ensured that there is everything for a dignified life."

The prosecutor says, "A last question. Since we are supposed to be equal, all of us, then why did we see on television that your daughter was weighing meat on golden scales? Wasn't the meat from our country good?"

Elena shouts something indistinct. The prosecutor's reply is also indistinct. Then Elena asks, "How can you say such a thing?"

The prosecutor says, "Accused Nicolae Ceausescu, tell us about the money that was transferred to Swiss banks."

Elena shouts, "Proof, proof!"

Ceausescu says again, "I do not answer to the leaders of a gang that carried out a coup."

The prosecutor says, "Nevertheless, if it is proved that there is money in foreign banks in your name, do you agree that it should be brought back to the country, to the Romanian State?"

Ceausescu says, "We will discuss [words indistinct] with the GNA. I will not sign anything. What is this National Salvation Council? It is impossible to set up a body without state power, without the approval of the GNA. As happened hundreds of years ago, such people like you will have to answer to the people."

The prosecutor asks Elena, "You, who have always been your husband's primary collaborator, do you know about the events in Timisoara and about the genocide there?"

Elena answers, "Come on, what are you talking about?"

The prosecutor asks Elena something about her scientific work, about polymers, and Ceausescu interrupts with something that is indistinct.

Elena says, "Let them ask the chairman of the Academy."

The prosecutor says, "As first deputy prime minister of the country, you made decisions with your husband. You wanted to be informed about everything. So, who gave the order to shoot in Timisoara? What can you say about security activity?" At this point everyone speaks at once and nothing can be understood. The prosecutor asks, "Who demoted General Milea and accused him of being a traitor? Why did you not try him properly?"

Ceausescu says, "I heard about his betrayal that day. He did not fulfill his duty in making the Army fulfill their tasks. [passage indistinct]"

The prosecutor asks Elena, "Who paid for the publication of your and your husband's volumes abroad?" No response can be heard.

Ceausescu says, "I will answer to the GNA."

Elena says, "Leave me alone. How can you say such things?"

The prosecutor says, "You have behaved in the same way that you always did. Have you not learned anything today? A last try [words indistinct]."

Elena says, "I have fought since I was 14 years old. How can we betray the people?"

An unidentified voice says, "For the atrocities committed by these two accused people, we ask you to sentence them to death and to authorize the confiscation of their wealth."

Another voice, possibly the defense, says, "I want you to understand that we, as lawyers, want to defend everybody in accordance with valid laws. Only a president can ask for the GNA to be charged, but you are not president any longer. You are both simple citizens. It is a mistake of the two accused to believe that they still have power and try to act accordingly."

The prosecutor says something about not being able to conduct a rational dialogue with them; they can be talked to but they have to be aware that this military tribunal is legal and is acting in accordance with the Constitution. Again the prosecutor reads all of the charges, "the greatest being the charge of genocide. It is difficult to sentence people who, before justice, refuse to recognize their crime. This is not genocide against people in Timisoara and Bucharest, but genocide carried out for more than 20 years against the Romanian people, against innocent children. [passage indistinct] You have killed young people in Timisoara and your security forces were disguised in soldiers' clothes. You were firing on hospitals, the wounded, [words indistinct]."

Elena asks, "Who?"

The prosecutor continues, "You say that you do not recognize our bodies of the people's power. You do not have to recognize them, mister former president. King Michael had more dignity than you." He says something about "seeking shelter among those foreigners with whom you lived." The prosecutor continues to relate the charges, using elaborate language. He speaks about the fear instilled in every Romanian citizen. He asks the head of the tribunal to pronounce the correct sentence for such terrible crimes as the ones committed by the accused. He points out, "When someone opposed you, they soon disappeared." The prosecutor asks whether the accused can say something in their own defense.

Ceausescu says, "I am not an accused person. I will only answer to the Romanian people. Have you not seen how the people cheered when I went to the factories?" Many people talk at once and then it becomes quiet.

Someone says, "Stand up!"

Elena says, "No dear, we are people." Her voice trails off.

The prosecutor reads the charges and concludes with the words, "The sentence is pronounced today, 25 December 1989, in a public gathering."

Ceausescu says, "I do not recognize [words indistinct]..."

Someone interrupts him, saying, "This is a final decision [words indistinct]." The relay ends.

Said To Deserve Execution

TA2612172189 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1645 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Istanbul (A.A)—Romanian First Assistant Premier Gheorghe Oprea is scheduled to leave Turkey on the Romanian cargo ship the Piatra Neamt on Tuesday.

He arrived in Turkey last Wednesday for joint economic commission talks between the two countries but after former Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu was toppled and brought to justice said that he supported the National Salvation Front in Romania.

Before boarding the ship, Oprea told the press, "The revolution is a victory for the Romanian people."

He went on to say that the execution of Ceausescu and his wife Elena on Monday was a "very good punishment, because the dictator deserved this."

Asked if stormy days were lying ahead for Romania, he said, "No, the Romanian people will further their development."

He added that he was returning home of his own free will and that there was no reason for him not to. "I am not under detention and have no fears," he said.

Meanwhile a reporter, saying that there were reports that he had been involved in orgies with Elena Ceausescu and had ordered the torture of world-famous gymnast Nadia Komaneci, asked whether these reports were true.

Oprea answered, "I don't know this."

Asked if he believed he would be executed in Romania, Oprea said, "Let them do what they want. I will disclose all the realities when I return home. The world will learn all these facts then."

"Then why did you wait until now to disclose them?" a reporter asked.

"No one was able to disclose these in the Ceausescu era. He was an absolute dictator and did not accept the truth," Oprea answered.

Asked if he had made any initiative to take refuge in Turkey, Oprea said he had never felt the need.

Asked if the present administration in Romania had given him any guarantees, he said that he had not received any, nor had he tried to obtain any.

The ship which will take Oprea home will up-anchor tonight, AA has learned.

Reported Buried Near Bucharest

AU2712124989 Paris AFP in English 1222 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 27 (AFP)—Executed Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena have been buried in a cemetery close to Bucharest, radio Belgrade said Wednesday in a live report from the Romanian capital.

Many victims of the fighting of the past week are buried in the same cemetery, the report said, but gave no other details.

The radio said the couple were arrested Friday, the same day Ceausescu was overthrown, about 100 kilometers (60 miles) from the capital and placed under armed guard.

The Ceausescus were executed by firing squad Monday in the courtyard of a military building after a summary trial that found them guilty of genocide and other crimes during the dictator's 24-year hold on power in Bucharest.

Ceausescu was ousted after a nearly a week of mass street protests that led to a bloody crackdown on demonstrators by security forces loyal to the ruler.

The site where the trial took place was not disclosed.

Mixed Feelings on Speedy Execution

AU2712130989 Paris AFP in English 1226 GMT 27 Dec 89

[By Ricardo Uztarroz]

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 27 (AFP) The speedy trial and execution of Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena, recorded on videotape and shown on television Tuesday night, produced mixed feelings among the populace.

There was widespread satisfaction that, as one person put it, "The hangman is no longer of this world", but there was also much vexation that the couple were not put on trial in public before parliament "so that the crimes Nicolae Ceausescu committed could be shown to all the people".

Some people were upset by the television film, especially when it lingered for half a minute on the dead president's head and shoulders.

Press comment was favourable. The former Communist Party paper ADEVARUL (THE TRUTH) said: "If this trial did not follow normal legal procedures, it is because the crimes of the Ceausescu couple were out of the ordinary".

"One always speaks well of the dead. But in the case of the Ceausescus that is impossible, since their whole life was deliberately consecrated to crime".

The youth wing paper TINERETUL LIBER said the judgment was fair and had been pronounced by the people. "Never again shall we see that senile old man who did not even know how to speak Romanian properly," it said.

ROMANIA LIBRA (FREE ROMANIA) said the judgment was just and deserved, and nobody could have expected any other sentence. "The name of Ceausescu ought henceforth to be wiped from the memory of this country as if it had never existed," it urged.

Support for New Government; Front Takes Action

Sibiu Evangelical Church Endorsement

AU2512021989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2337 GMT 24 Dec 89

["Message of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 24/12/1989—A message of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Sibiu, signed by Bishop Albert Klein and released over Romanian television on December 24, expresses admiration for the initiative and courage of the Romanian people and its Army. "We pray," the message shows, for those killed in Timisoara, Bucharest, Sibiu, in other towns, who sacrificed their lives for the homeland. We pray for all those called upon to bear the responsibility for leadership and restructuring of the Romanian state. We pray for the country's future. God bless you, God bless Romania."

Magyar Democratic Union Support

AU2412162589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1439 GMT 24 Dec 89

["Call by the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 24/12/1989—In this document rendered by "SCINTEIA POPORULUI" of 24 December, the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania expresses full solidarity with the Romanian compatriots, stating: We want you to know that we the Magyar of Romania are not driven on by revenge. The suffering and humiliation we had to stand during Ceausescu's dictatorship has not made us blind. If until quite recently only we the Hungarians had the "privilege" to be labelled as "fascist elements," on 20 December 1989 Ceausescu declared the people of Timisoara "fascists and hooligans" who said a firm no to the dictatorship, and in their overwhelming majority were Romanians.

By rightly appreciating the stances of outstanding Romanian intellectuals on the Magyars' rights, the call underscores that the chance to come victor lies in the union of all the loyal citizens of Romania, whatever their nationality and beliefs. The Magyar Democratic Union of Romania speaks up for a union in mutual respect and esteem.

In a united Europe, the call further shows, only together can we have the chance to be received as equals. In this grandiose work, we stretch out our right hand with a clean soul. We are convinced that we shall be able to find together the wisdom to solve our common problems, the call says, pointing out that "the genuine democracy we wish to instate is indivisible and the homeland cannot be for some a mother and for others a plague, that it can agree not even to the national criterion. [no closing quote; sentence as received]

While addressing to you this call to rally our efforts in concert to eliminate the evil, we also call upon our Magyar brothers in Romania to be lucid since neither democracy nor freedom can be won in this country without the commitment of the Romanian democratic and popular forces.

The document ends in an appeal for solidarity.

Labor Ministry Support

AU2612161189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0933 GMT 26 Dec 89

["The Labour Ministry in Support of Renewal in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 26/12/1989—Addressing the National Salvation Front Council, the Labour Ministry expresses great joy at the historic act whereby the Ceausescu clan's dictatorship was abolished, and condemns the irresponsible, criminal acts of reprisal; the brutal violation of the working people's rights and freedoms enshrined in the Constitution, the Labour Code and other labour regulations.

Welcoming the creation of the National Salvation Front, the Ministry solemnly declares its full adhesion to the new body of state power, which is called upon to secure deep-going, true renewal and democratic changes in the entire economic and social life of Free Romania.

We condemn in full indignation the fanaticism and barbarity of the former dictator's terrorists and we praise the acts of courage of the youth, of the people as a whole who, together with the Romanian Army, fight to accomplish this great victory, to set the Romanian people's life upon a new basis, the message shows.

The management board assumes the task to immediately solve urgent problems, under the leadership of the National Salvation Front Council, to achieve a radical reform in the field of labour which, for so many bitter years, was marred by inhuman conditions, by flagrant violation of the most elementary rights and freedoms.

The entire labour legislation will be reviewed on the basis of the constitution to be adopted and of the international conventions on human rights adopted by the UN and its specialized agencies, including that concerning the working people's right to free association and the full and effective exercise of trade union freedoms.

Support of Hungarian Federation

LD2612213589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] The Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania has issued a statement. This organization supports the National Salvation Front and accepts it as the only legal body. This is contained in their appeal recently made public, which was formulated by the interim acting committee of the federation. According to the decree, they have begun working out a program and will elect the acting committee [as heard] of the organization at a national congress this year.

They stressed that their aims are respect for ethnic rights and the creation of institutions necessary to initiate practice of these rights. The federation proposes the creation of a new law on nationalities and considers necessary the guarantee of ethnic representation in the legislation; the development of native language teaching from the nursery to the university; the launching of Hungarian-language papers, radio and television broadcasts; the creation of measures regulating the use of the Hungarian language in public administration and the judicial system; and the establishment of a ministry for ethnic affairs.

According to the appeal, the Hungarians in Romania wish to form their future in solidarity with the Romanian people and other national minorities, on the basis of mutual respect and understanding.

Front Meets on Country's Future

AU2512174589 Paris AFP in English 1601 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Report by AFP correspondent Ricardo Ustarroz: "Romanian Provisional Government Meets as Fighting Eases"]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Dec 25 (AFP)—Romania's provisional government set up after the overthrow of Nicolae Ceausescu met here Monday to discuss the political future of the country, where fighting eased as the Army consolidated its grip. [passage omitted]

The spokesman for the National Salvation Committee's council, Ion Iliescu, told journalists here that the new government's priority would be wiping out the pockets of resistance as pro-Ceausescu snipers of the secret police held out.

Mr. Iliescu noted that the situation was now getting back to normal.

But sporadic gunfire could be heard in the city and fighting continued in other parts of the country, notably in the western city of Timisoara where the rebellion began on December 17.

According to Mr. Iliescu, the council, which has promised free elections next April and the abolition of the communist party's monopoly on power, did not plan to form a new government. [passage omitted on Iliescu's report of family's arrest]

The entire politburo of the ousted regime was also under arrest, and would be judged "when the situation permits", Mr. Iliescu said.

Mr. Iliescu, a former central committee secretary fired by Mr. Ceausescu in 1971, told Le Monde that the government would give priority to economic reconstruction once the resistance had been liquidated.

He said the National Salvation Committee had not sought Soviet military aid as this "was not necessary". He added that the provisional government was in "constant contact" with the Soviet Foreign Ministry, which he said agreed that no military intervention was required.

Mr. Iliescu was unable to confirm reports that foreign mercenaries from Arab countries were fighting alongside the pro-Ceausescu secret police units [Securitate] against the Army. Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn said on Monday that "Arab mercenaries" were involved in the fighting.

But the "dreadful resistance of the old apparatus" of the Ceausescu regime had been "well prepared".

"They want to create a situation of instability in the country through terror by launching attacks against factories, hospitals, television and radio," Mr. Iliescu said. [passage omitted citing Tanjug on SFRY recognizing new government]

On the ground in Bucharest, sporadic gunfire continued Monday, but local residents ventured out to search for Christmas supplies.

The television station, the focus of the insurgency since Friday, began broadcasting Christmas carols for the first time after decades of communist rule and the Bucharest patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church read out a Christmas message after a televised mass.

At the airport, where plane-loads of international medical and food aid were arriving, firing was heard overnight, but the runway remained open to traffic.

Mr. Ciobanu said 155 people had perished during the airport clashes since Friday.

Two AFP correspondents at the airport, where walls were splattered with blood, said arriving passengers were allowed inside one by one with their hands in the air. [passage omitted on other sources' reports on situation]

Statement on Education

AU2512203189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1819 GMT 25 Dec 89

["Statement by Professor Mircea Malita"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 25 Dec—The exigent, clear and high-standing education system that had a minister like Spiru Haret where politics stopped at the gates, which eventually was perverted by corruption and favouritism, can be restored and will be restored with the help of the wonderful initiatives of professors and students, stated on Romanian Television by Mircea Malita, a prestigious name in Romanian diplomacy, a former deputy minister of foreign affairs and former minister of education, a renowned writer and essayist showing inter alia: I have often wondered what will happen to our education that was dying slowly and systematically owing to an odious policy, and the answer has been given by the enthusiasm and overflowing energy of these youths who have done wonders ... This nation that managed to destroy a regime that had infiltrated it and aimed at gaining ground the odious dictatorship, is our answer and our confidence.

We will retrieve everything, this society will make up for the lost time, it will again be in step with world culture in an extremely short time. As one can see, these wonderful youths who lacked perspective have impressive resources, which does credit to the Romanian people. There is so much energy, so much spirit of initiative that were hidden under the burden of obscurantism, of a systematic ban on great and authentic ideas. Systematic obscurantism, a ban on free thought, I could say a systematic policy incorporated in diabolical orders issued daily by Elena Ceausescu concerning education of

all grades, which affected persons and sciences, banned sciences, the humanities, which created taboos no one could say no disciplines, and which destroyed institutions, all that systematic destruction of culture has stopped, to our joy. It has unfettered energies, and ideas.

Interior, Defense Ministries Merge

AU2612200389 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Report on "Decree on the Integration of the Department of State Security and Other Bodies Under the Jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior into the Ministry of National Defense" issued in Bucharest on 26 December]

[Text] A Decree on the Integration of the Department of State Security and Other Bodies Under the Juristiction of Ministry of Interior into the Ministry of National Defense was issued today.

Article 1—As of the date of the present decree, the Ministry of National Defense will incorporate the State Security Department and the Command of Security Troops together with its organs and units under its subordination; this includes the structure, budget, personnel, armaments, munition, technology, fixed assets, and the active and passive personnel at home and abroad. The directorates, assimilated units, joint services, personnel, technology, fixed assets, and the budget will be laid out in accordance with duties performed;

Article 2—The Ministry of Interior will incorporate the General Inspectorate of the Militia, the firemen command, and the direction of prisons, together with all the units in their jurisdiction.

A separate decree will be issued for the passport matters, the registration of foreigners, and control over the crossing of the state border.

Article 3—Monetary and material compensation of the military and civilian personnel, envisaged under Article 1, will be ensured by the Ministry of National Defense.

Article 4—Border guard troops will be reintegrated into the Ministry of National Defense.

Article 5—The Ministry of National Defense will take measures to ensure a uniform organization of all units under its jurisdiction in keeping with the duties and tasks resting on this ministry.

Article 6—The State Committee for Planning, Management of Fixed Assets, and the Ministry of Finance will take measures to make appropriate modifications in the economic indicators of the 1990 plan of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior.

The decree is signed by Ion Iliescu, chairman of the Council of the National Salvation Front, and National Defense Minister Colonel General Nicolae Militaru.

Abrogation of Ceausescu Laws

AU2612200189 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Report on law abrogating Nicolae Ceausescu's laws, decrees, and regulations issued by the Council of the National Salvation Front in Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] Law on the abrogation of some of Nicolae Ceausescu's laws, decrees, and regulations:

In order to immediately eliminate some laws and decrees from Romania's legislation that were issued by the former dictatorial regime as well as regulations with a profoundly unjust character, at variance with the interests of the Romanian people, the Council of the National Salvation Front adopts the following law:

Article 1. The following laws, decrees, and other regulations including the regulations, which are proposed for abrogation, are abrogated and will remain abrogated:

1. All decrees by which Romania's titles and orders were awarded to Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu

2. Law number 5 of 1969 on establishing, organizing, and operating the Council of Defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania

3. Law number 58 of 1974 on systematizing the territory of urban and rural localities.

4. Law number 29 of 1977 on norms of address in relations among citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania

5. Law number 22 of of 1981 on the obligation of party and state activists, of mass and civic organizations, of cadres in the leadership of socialist units, and of experts in agriculture and in other fields of activity to reside in the locality where they carry out their activity.

6. Law number 3 of 1982 on the participation of working people in state economic units with social shares in the establishment of the economic development fund and the social shares that have been drawn up to the present will be returned in stages over the next 3 years, starting with 1 January 1989.

7. Decision number 5 of 1984 adopted by the Grand National Assembly on the endorsement of the program on the populations's scientific nourishment.

8. Decree number 770 repeat 770 of 1966 on regulating the interruption of pregnancy.

9. Decree number 68 of 1976 on changing residence from other localities to towns that have been declared, in accordance with the law, big towns.

10. Decree number 56 of 1978 on establishment of the Party and State Central Commission for the territorial systematization and of urban and rural localities and on establishment of the local systematization commissions.

11. Decree number 98 of 1983 regarding the mode of usage of copy machines, of materials necessary for reproducing writings, and of typewriters.

12. The following articles in the penal code: Article number 185, 188 on abortion; Article 237 on slandering, in public, a state or civic organization in any way.

13. Law number 1 of 1985 on socioeconomic self-management, self- administration, and the self-financing of the administrative- territorial units, through which sums of money from people's remuneration was retained.

The decree is signed by the Council of the National Salvation Front

Establishment of Military Tribunals

AU2612232789 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2300 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Communique issued by the Council of the National Salvation Front in Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] Taking into consideration that even after the trial and execution of the dictators Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, terrorist actions by some isolated elements are continuing and these actions are resulting in the loss of human lives and material destruction. Therefore, the Council of the National Salvation Front has decided the following:

1. Extraordinary military tribunals are being established in Bucharest and in all the counties of the country, and they will try all cases concerning terrorist actions.

2. The trials will follow emergency procedures and the execution of sentences will be carried out immediately.

3. The terrorist elements which do not hand in weapons and ammunition that they possess by Thursday, 28 December 1989 at 1700 hours will be tried and condemned by these extraordinary tribunals in accordance with emergency procedures.

[The communique is followed by the announcer's statement that messages are being received at the radio and television studios expressing satisfaction with the correctness of the sentence; the radio then carries a commentary on the correctness of National Salvation Front's decisions]

Iliescu Statements Reported

AU2712011889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2259 GMT 26 Dec 89

["Ion Iliescu's Speech on the Radio and Television"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/12/1989—We have committed ourselves to a highly tensed programme on these days but we wanted to be in the studio also on a personal reason as there are rumours saying that we might no longer exist, said Ion Iliescu adding: First, we wanted to be seen since we still exist. Secondly, we would like to point to some questions concerning the stage of our activity.

A first idea: Our revolution has a special particularity. It is an outcome of the masses' spontaneous action, an expression of discontent accumulated over the years that has grown through attempts at repressing mass movements, the youth's first of all. The idea is completely false that it could have been a coup performed by some organized forces supported even from aboard. The truth is that this Council of the National Salvation Front is an emanation of the movement and did not precede it. This also entails a disadvantage, a difficulty we have encountered today, because we must constitute and organize ourselves as structures of the new power. We need time for our structuring.

The most venomous character of the terroristic acts which continue to be committed by the old repressive apparatus which seeks to terrorize the population is to stop us to do this, and to pass from the euphoria of the first days to the practical work of organization and normalization of the country's economic and social life. [sentence as received] And the safety of the members of the new organisms is a problem which must concern us.

You can understand that the goal of terroristic acts is to stop the stabilization of the economic and social life and transfer the discontent of the people's masses to the new leadership, "unable" to set order in the country.

Secondly, there are real problems related to the interruption of a normal course of the economic and social life as well as to the resolution of the citizens' specific problems. Had we not organized the structures of the new forms of state power, the state administration, therefore at a central level, at the level of the council which took over the functions of the power organ, of government which leads the central administration, as well as at a county level—the county, municipal, town and communal councils as representative bodies of local power and local administration which solve the citizens' problems—without such an organization to details, the course of our life might suffer. That is why I ask you and urge the Front's county councils and the local ones to pay special attention to specific problems. We should pass from the phase of general concerns, of programme to ensuring the continuity of a normal life by reorganizing it on new bases. Hence, we should no longer interrupt this activity, disturbing the organisms meant to solve the problems of the local economy, of the population's supply, of transport, trade and so on and so forth as well as of economic work in enterprises.

Another year is coming to an end and we enter a new economic year. We do not want to demolish the present central organs as we must rely on the existing structures, and because this would create very big difficulties in our activity. We should set some bases apt to facilitate work in economic units and relieve the management of enterprises, central departments from the former rigid laws

which chained the country's economic life in an excessive centralism. We should do so as all the economic units, the economy as a whole may breathe easily.

These are the priorities of the immediately ensuing period. I began with a first materialization of our structure. At the council's level we made provisional appointments, for the time being, till a definitive making of new structures according to a new constitution.

Our front is organized as a permanent structure which prepares the new elections, which sanctions and establishes, on new bases, the forms of our organization. Hence, as a priority, a president of this provisional body was appointed provisionally, and so was a first vice-president, Mr Mazilu who is a jurist and will have special tasks in principal domains—the elaboration of the draft constitution, of the electoral bill, regulations and other juridical acts apt to facilitate the course of our activity. For all this we appeal to competent persons.

We prepared a draft decree and bill regarding the structuring of our council's activity. Beside the programmatic elements of the first platform we published, we come now with clearer regulations, with normative acts on the functioning of the council at a central level as well as of the local councils. We want beside its general activity, to restructure together with all the council members several working commissions by domains, one of them being that I have spoken about, other economic problems, questions related to education, science, culture, foreign policy, and so forth.

Finally, the government. Today we elected a new prime minister, a young one who will ensure the activation of the government and a normal course of activity in ministries apt to solve the problems of the economy.

With our activity growing more and more specific, I would like to call on all those who have been its motive factors, the active factors of the Romanian revolution with its peculiarities. Attempts are made today to destablize us, to undermine the current stage of effective organization. If we do not manage to consolidate the unity brought about by this spontaneous process of the masses which overthrew the former power, then, naturally, this will be our great weakness. Our single force today is precisely the maintenance of this unity based upon the general consensus of all the creative forces of the Romanian society. Upon this foundation, we want to concretize our activity, to permanently achieve this consensus broadly open to all possible trends, to all factors and all interested forces, a vivid dialogue to help materialize this platform of action. We shall have to define our activity for the next three months. We want these three months to be not only months of electoral campaign, but also of action, of settling basic problems of long-range programmes for what lies ahead.

Nobody claims to monopolize a new power. We are fed up with this monopoly of power, with the claim to hold the power for life. A congress tried to nominate N. Ceausescu head of the party and state to the end of his life.

The constitution will consecrate the principles of compulsory eligibility of all managerial bodies and factors from central to local level. We even discuss an idea of eligibility in the militia which should be held responsible to the masses and not the reverse. The militia, from an instrument of repression, of power, should become an instrument serving the masses, under their control. Nobody will be allowed to stay in a managerial post for life. They get a mandate, answer for how they fulfilled their mandate, make room for those who come with new forces, with a new outlook. This renewal, the refreshing must be permanently made. It is the only way to ensure a continual progress. Likewise, more modesty in everyone's private life, the limitation of everybody's incomes to decent dimensions, without neglecting the incentives for the promotion of true values, etc.

These are a few questions to be concretized in normative acts and in our practical activity.

State, Political Activity Separated

AU2712130289 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The Council of the National Salvation Front has decided that all state activity be severed from political activity. The Council of the National Salvation Front has also decided that the Reformed Minister Laszlo Tokes be reinstated with all his rights at the Timisoara parish.

Additional Information on New Government Leaders

AU2612104389 Paris AFP in English 1017 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Dec 26 (AFP) Ion Iliescu, a former Communist Party central committee secretary, was officially named Tuesday as the man to lead Romania out of the repressive and horrific rule of Nicolae Ceausescu. [passage omitted] The chairman of the Front government was the body's main spokesman during the dramatic battle for control of the country against supporters of the former dictator, who with his wife Elena was executed Monday. Mr. Iliescu, aged 59, knew Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet president, while a student in Moscow.

A former central committee secretary, he was sacked by Mr. Ceausescu in 1971 for being "narrow-minded". Mr. Iliescu had criticised the Ceausescu government and though allowed to carry on working as vice director of the State Technical Publishing Company was under constant police surveillance. He will head the 39-member body that now controls Romania. Dimitru Mazilu, Romania's former reporter to the United Nations, was named vice chairman. Mr. Mazilu was put under house arrest by the Ceausescu regime after writing a report for the United Nations critical of the situation in Romania. A former head of the foreign ministry legal department, he failed to turn up at the U.N. subcommission on the prevention of discrimination in Geneva to give his report. Mr. Mazilu was officially said to be ill, though he said he was under house arrest and

faced constant death threats from the feared secret police. His report was eventually smuggled out of Romania. It accused the Ceausescu administration of torturing opponents and attacked its repressive rule.

Petre Roman will act as Romanian prime minister until elections are held. General Nicolae Militaru was named defence minister.

Mr. Roman is not known to have held any previous official function, while General Militaru is a reserve officer also sacked by Mr. Ceausescu for "plotting with foreign countries."

The rest of the provisional leadership is made up of dissident intellectuals, artists, politicians who were disgraced under President Ceausescu's rule, and army officers who helped topple the dictator.

Biographical Information on Petre Roman

AU2612233289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Romania's new prime minister, Petre Roman, was born in Bucharest on 22 July 1946. He graduated from the Faculty of Hydrotechnics of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute. He is a doctor of hydrotechnics with a degree "magna cum laudae" he got in France at the National Polytechnic Institute of Toulouse.

After graduation he worked at the Hydraulics Department of the Faculty of Hydrotechnics of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute being promoted from assistant professor to professor, head of the Hydraulics Department of the Faculty.

He is married and has two children.

Government Opponents Hold Meeting in Bucharest

AU2612231389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Report by Azra Muhafendic from Bucharest]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The news circulated around Bucharest today that a people's meeting was being planned in Romania [Palace] Square. Later during the day, it was announced on an official television program that the meeting had been called off. Nevertheless, we have discovered—and some agencies have reported—that a meeting of a smaller group of people was held. We have discovered that this meeting involved opponents to the new authorities. Most people here in Bucharest adhered to the demand of the Council of the National Salvation Front and did not go to the meeting. [passage omitted]

Update on Status of Ceausescu Loyalists

AU2612131289 Paris AFP in English 1205 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Turnu Severin, Dec 26 (AFP)—The Romanian Army Tuesday had recovered most of the guns held by civilians while regular soldiers aided by militiamen tracked down fugitive remnants of forces loyal to deposed President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The Army had appealed to civilians on Sunday to hand in all firearms to prevent the spread of anarchy, particularly in the Timisoara and Arad region and along roads in the Southeast.

Bucharest radio Tuesday appealed to all citizens to "cooperate with the Army in preserving order and discipline." It warned people not to let themselves be influenced by "provocateurs."

Some armed civilians can still be seen manning road blocks around Timisoara, but mostly search operations are now conducted by soldiers armed with Kalashnikovs aided by uniformed auxiliaries.

Strategic points, in particular along roads near the borders, and the Djerdap electricity plant (Europe's biggest), were guarded by soldiers backed by anti-aircraft batteries.

Early Tuesday, special units of the Yugoslav police were searching for groups of Romanian former secret police who had crossed the border and were hiding out in forests along the banks of the Danube, police here said.

Police on both sides of the Yugoslav-Romania border were taking part in a combined operation to track down and capture members of Mr. Ceausescu's ruthless political police, the Securitate.

Romanian officers said the barbed wire and miradors erected by the Ceausescu regime along the border to prevent Romanians from fleeing the country was now proving an obstacle to Securitate fugitives.

Four Securitate suspects were arrested Monday by Yugoslav police after swimming across the Danube, Belgrade radio said.

Thousands of Ceausescu loyalists are still holding out in Bucharest and other cities, hiding in apartments and firing indiscriminately on civilians. Romanians say these men have nothing to lose and appear resolved to go down fighting, much as Nazi diehards did at the end of World War II.

Between 2,000 and 3,000 Securitate men are believed to be still in Bucharest, their determination apparently unaffected by news of the execution of Mr. Ceausescu and his wife Elena.

Other Ceausescu loyalists were holed up in Cluj, Timisoara and other cities. In Cluj a Hungarian motorist bringing a consignment of medical supplies was shot

dead Monday by sniper fire. At least seven Hungarian drivers have died in similar circumstances in the past few days, Cluj residents said.

Soldiers said relief convoys had become a favourite target for "terrorists" in Transylvania. They said the "terrorists operate singly or in groups of two or three men from forests bordering main roads through Transylvania."

Istan Gyarmati, a student at Cluj university said more than 100 Arabs, mainly Libyan and Syrian "students" were fighting with Securitate men in the forests. He said they had disappeared from the university last week. Mr. Gyarmati said documents had been discovered revealing "the real duties" of the Arab students.

Securitate commandos reportedly attacked soldiers of the regular Army on Monday at Resica and Oravita in the south of the country and at Sevrin. Fighting was also reported to have occurred at Constantsa on the Black Sea.

Meanwhile new administrative structures were being set up around the country. In Moldova-Noua, new municipal leaders, including some communist party members had been freely elected by citizens "for the first time," according to Ionec Danciu, director of the Moldova-Noua Mines.

Appeal to Army for Mobilization of Reserve Units

AU2612070589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1832 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/12/1989—On behalf of the free youth of Romania, daily TINERETUL LIBER (Free Youth) of Monday publishes an appeal to the General Staff of the Romanian Army, whereby the General Staff is invited to order the "mobilization" of all "reserve diversionist scouts, paratroopers and snipers still under the age of 36, with residence in Bucharest". [sentence as received]

"We, who sacrifice ourselves for the homeland", the appeal shows, "are almost all reserve privates, ncos and officers ... Our instruction allows us to successfully wage street fighting. In consideration of the fact that the mercenaries employ combat and survival tactics in a city that is completely hostile and unknown to them, it results that troops specializing in street fighting must be sent against them.

An appeal is also addressed to the reserve officers, ncos and privates of the above-mentioned arms to wait by radio and tv sets, being ready to answer a mobilization order any time.

Provinces, Bucharest Update; Fighting Subsides

Appeal to Residents in Arad

LD2512165889 Budapest MTI in English 1547 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Arad, December 25 (MTI)—The Monday edition of the "JELEN" newspaper of the Arad County Council of the National Salvation Council, published in Arab, carried the appeal of the city's military command to the residents.

The appeal states: Order is continuously controlled by troops consisting of the patriotic guard, militia men and soldiers. Roads have been barricaded to facilitate control. Twenty percent of workers of companies are guarding the assets of the people. Guards are being re-directed from major companies to smaller ones.

Groups of no more than three to five people should walk the streets. Everyone should have identification papers. Children should not be left without supervision. The population should not believe the rumors.

Timisoara Still Fighting Securitate

AU2512174089 Paris AFP in English 1627 GMT 25 Dec 89

[By Patrick Filleux]

[Excerpts] Timisaora, Romania, Dec 25 (AFP)—The people of Timisoara spent Christmas Day hiding from a handful of secret policemen, still loyal to deposed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and firing indiscriminately on passers-by. [passage omitted] An effective blackout reigned, with no light filtering from windows, and no music audible behind the curtains. Helmeted troops patrolled the main thoroughfares, rifles at the ready. The threat of "terrorists", as the agents of the Securitate secret police are now known, continued to weigh heavily. Stories of snipers firing from windows or passing cars were rife, and the soldiers, most of them mere youths, were nervous. Motorists who failed to stop promptly at a half-heard traffic control came under a hail of fire, which fortunately caused no victims.

In much of Western Romania, defence has been taken over by a rag-tag civilian army of men and boys. The region saw some of the fiercest fighting between pro and anti-Ceausescu forces in the past three days as regular Army forces fought with Securitate agents to overthrow the regime. The "Free Romanians", civilians of all ages, wear armbands in the national colours and are armed with rifles, ancient shotguns or batons. They are still facing pockets of murderous resistance from Securitate men, and have erected road blocks along the main road from Oradea, on the Hungarian border, to Arad, 100 kilometres (60 miles) south, through to Timisaora, a similar distance further south. All passing traffic is closely scrutinised. Identity papers are examined by factory workers from a nearby town.

Arriving at Salonta, a town of 20,000 people, the visitor is suddenly confronted with the bright lights of a Christmas tree in the main square and a chorus of children's voices singing the joys of democracy and freedom. The inhabitants of the town have been spared the bloody clashes that have pitted Romanian against Romanian in other parts of the country. [passage omitted]

Timisoara News Conference

LD2612223789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Timisoara, Dec 26 (TANJUG)—The situation in Timisoara is stable and in a few days should return to normal completely, Lorin Fortuna, who is head of the today officially established Democratic Front of Timisoara, told a news conference this evening.

This was the first organized meeting with journalists since the outbreak of the people's uprising in Timisoara.

According to Fortuna, the Timisoara Front has established good links with Bucharest and adopted the program of the National Salvation Front as its own. This is how it will be, he added, until the elections envisaged to take place in April, when political pluralism will be established and each party will follow its own program.

The Romanian people are fighting for freedom and this cannot be done without coordination from one center, Fortuna said. The current head of the National Salvation Front Ion Iliescu was proposed by Timisoara. Timisoara, Fortuna said, is very proud of this. Iliescu had formerly been an official in Timisoara, but was "removed" by Ceausescu.

The representatives of the 60-member Democratic Front were tonight unable to give the exact number of casualties in Timisoara. An estimated 4,000-5,000 people have been killed, and around 7,000 are injured.

There were around 200 pro-Ceausescu security officers in Timisoara, it was said tonight. Fifty have been caught, 25 joined the people, four or five have been killed, and the others are still at large.

Ceausescu's special commandos, whose exact number is still not known, also fought against the people. Ceausescu also had four Libyan mercenaries fighting on his side, Fortuna said, not specifying whether they were Libyan government men or Ceausescu's mercenaries.

Fortuna also told journalists that the first foreign diplomat—Yugoslav assistant Foreign Secretary Ilija Djukic—was arriving in Timisoara tomorrow. Djukic left Bucharest tonight where he had meetings with the members of the National Salvation Front of Romania.

The Democratic Front of Timisoara is mainly made up of Romanians, but there is also one Serb, two Hungarians and two Germans. The front also has the support of former communist party members, who had quit the party.

'Life Returns to Normal'

AU2612161389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0955 GMT 26 Dec 89

["Life Returns to Normal in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 26/12/1989—In Craiova, groups of fanatic terrorists which had ruthlessly attacked not only the Army but also the civilian population, have been eliminated. Now the units working around the clock—the Isalnita and Craiova-2 thermal power stations, as well as large bakeries and the Isalnita Chemical Combine—have resumed their activities. People are also back to work at "Electroputere", the tractor-building and farm machinery works, the heavy-duty works and the small car-making factory, as well as in all other production units. Everywhere no efforts are spared for production manufacture and the fulfilment of all contracts.

In both the county seat and the county of Brasov gangs of terrorists have been almost eliminated. Isolated positions still held by terrorists are being identified and gradually brought under control.

The woodworking and building materials industries are concentrating on the manufacture of much needed windows, cement, woodboards, bituminated cardboard as well as glassware, earthenware and porcelain, kitchenware.

The over half a million workers in these industries express their full support to the National Salvation Front's programme and actions for the triumph of freedom and democracy in Romania.

At Iprs-Baneasa where heavy battles were waged in the opening days of the revolution, action is taken to restore production and protect the property. Efforts are made to bring things back to normal in all electrical industrial units.

The dairy mills of Calarasi and Oltenita have supplied large quantities of milk, cheese, butter to the shops of Calarasi County and the capital of the country.

Steps for a normal course of production are being taken in the oil and gas industry. Oil and gas wells are being repaired, and security measures are taken.

Cluj Buries Dead

AU2712114789 Paris AFP in English 1056 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Cluj, Romania, Dec 27 (AFP)—Factories began going back to work and bread queues started forming as life tentatively returned to normal across Romania Wednesday, despite reports of isolated pockets of resistance by pro-Ceausescu loyalists.

The Transylvanian capital Cluj was also burying its dead. On Tuesday 24 victims of the fighting were laid to rest in the town's monument to heroes, where until now only the dead of World War II had been buried.

Around 3,000 people joined the funeral procession behind the black coffins, draped in the Romanian colours of red, yellow and blue.

The biers were pulled by lorries to Liberty Square, in the city centre, where a priest pronounced words of consolation for the grieving townspeople.

In the city's main square, Christmas trees and photos of the victims have been left on the spots where blood was shed.

The cortege then made its way out to the cemetery in a suburb of the city, apparently unconcerned by reports that Ceausescu loyalists were still holding out on the city's outskirts.

The military have asked local people to observe a curfew at night and the main roads across Transylvania were also said not to be safe yet.

Army spokesman said "terrorists" had attacked a post office building in Oradea, near the Hungarian border overnight Wednesday and that telephone lines had been cut for the district of Bijor which Oradea serves.

In Timisoara, where the uprising against the Ceausescu regime started, townspeople were going back to work despite reports of spasmodic fighting in the suburbs.

Shops reopened and the first queues for bread formed. The queues were still long and the shops empty, but "we talk among ourselves, that's really the main reason why we are here", one woman explained.

Trams were running, factories reopened, but many people, especially the young, still preferred to stay out on the streets, discovering the luxury of being able to take a stroll.

"You can stop and talk, even with the soldiers", one young worker enthused.

But there were still some sceptics, even about the execution of Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife. "I've only seen the photos on the television. Anything is possible. We have been deceived so many times".

In Timisoara's Liberty Square, five tanks were in position to defend the military headquarters, but the tanks were decorated with Christmas trees and Christmas garlands.

A soldier behind a machine gun warned a group of young people not to cause an obstruction "because if we are attacked, we shall have to move fast". But nobody seemed to take the warning very seriously.

In front of the opera house a tank was being used as a newspaper kiosk. Although the copies of the new local daily were two days old, there was a queue of buyers.

In the south of the country, the new authorities backed by the Army and police appeared to have the situation well under control, but there were checkpoints on the entrance to all towns and key buildings, like city halls, post offices and fire stations, all hard armed guards.

An AFP correspondent driving to Sibiu was stopped by a military patrol at Rimnicu Vilcea after shots were heard in a nearby forest, and told "Don't try to get to Sibiu by night. You can see there are still Securitate agents (Ceausescu loyalists) hiding round here."

There were roadblocks around every 20 kilometres (12 miles), almost all with at least one soldier or police officer present, more reassuring than those still manned entirely by young people, who are rather quick on aiming their Kalashnikovs at any suspicious car.

The oil fields and factories in Rimnicu Vilcea and in the other two major industrial centres of Turnu and Craiova were all working on Tuesday. Public transport was also functioning normally and queues were forming in front of food shops. Fresh bread, meat and milk, were on sale. Hundreds of cars also began queuing when petrol stations reopened.

Many drivers were resigned to spending the night in their cars, despite the freezing temperatures, to make sure they did not miss their chance of getting petrol.

The ground was littered with posters glorifying Ceausescu, which had been torn down and trampled underfoot. Portraits of the executed dictator which had not yet been removed from outside public buildings had the word "murderer" scrawled across them.

Situation in Bucharest

LD2712124789 Budapest MTI in English 1111 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, December 27 (MTI)—Otto Oltvanyi, MTI'S Bucharest correspondent, reports:

The night was relatively peaceful in Bucharest but at 4:30 a.m. a counter-revolutionary group of the Securitate launched an attack on the television building. After a gun-battle of a half an hour, the Army regained firm control of the situation.

The appeal of the National Salvation Council, which urged to restore a normal way of life but promised the still hiding enemy forces summary procedures and merciless retaliation, had a reassuring effect. According to not yet reconfirmed news report, conflicts have burst out between the leaders of the underground network of the Securitate. Some units would put down their weapons while others are prepared to hold out to the bitter end.

The Army holds the main points of the capital under firm control. Since the hiding units of the Securitate have plenty of ammunition and explosives, they are feared to try to provoke panic by attempts and explosions. The first sign of this endeavour could be seen Tuesday in the afternoon. It became clear by night that those who were driving cars with national banners and shouting 'People, be cautious, the Army has left you in the lurch, take cover, don't walk in the city,' were Securitate people.

The action caused a panic in the city. In the tense situation, the officers of the Army repeatedly appeared on the TV screen and said that the news reports were false and the soldiers were, and would remain, on the side of the people. As a result, the people were calmed by morning and lot of them left for their place of work. The Bucharest Radio announced that the shops would soon be supplied with orange, coffee and meat.

Victims Buried in 'Cemetery of Young Heroes'

AU2712052489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0512 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Burial of Young Heroes"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—Tuesday, 26 December, the young heroes who gave their lives in the struggle against the odious dictatorship overthrown from power, for real and true freedom, for democracy in Romania, started being buried in Bucharest.

The burials are made in a new cemetery called from now on the "Cemetery of Young Heroes," located in the vicinity of Belu Cemetery, where the great personalities of the Romanian nation are buried.

The burials attended by the bereaved families following the bloody repressions of the tyrant and his acolytes are made by the Municipal Council of the National Salvation Front. According to the ancient custom a group of priests performed the divine service.

Tuesday, 20 youngsters were buried in this doleful place of sorrow. Their graves were covered with flowers, fir branches, Christmas ornaments—a Christmas they no longer saw. Panels carried by mourning people read "We demonstrated peacefully and the executioners killed us".

As we are informed, the burials will continue on the ensuing days. A monument is to be erected in the "Cemetery of Young Heroes" to pay tribute over the years to their pure sacrifice for Romania's freedom.

Laszlo Tokes Issues Statement to People

AU2712142489 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1205 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Statement by Laszlo Tokes in Mileu on 27 December—recorded]

[Text] Dear compatriots of our homeland: I am Laszlo Tokes, a reformed minister in Timisoara, and I am now in Mileu in Salaj County, where I was deported on 17 December by the repressive bodies of the regime because I opposed the dictate of the Reformed Bishop who, in cooperation with these repressive bodies, brought a case against me and wanted to evacuate me from the Parochial dwelling in Timisoara. Since I opposed this I am now hidden in this corner of the country, surrounded and defended by our reformed faithful. I am speaking from Mileu.

I had the honor this evening to talk about and to express to Romanian television my grief for those who have died in Timisoara and to express my admiration for the heroic Romanian people, who in these days have won their freedom by overthrowing the dictatorship that poisoned our hearts, the hearts of both the Romanians and the Hungarians.

I also have the honor of being proposed as a member of the Council of the National Salvation Front, something I did not even think of but which demonstrates that something new has begun in our country.

There is room for us, too, as there is room for the other nationalities and sects which I feel I represent, in addition to representing the reformed Hungarian Christians in our country.

But let me tell you that the greatest honor for me was what happened on the night of 16 December, when thousands of people gathered in front of the Parochial House in Timisoara, the majority of them Romanians, and sang the Hora Unirii [unity song] before me and in the front of our Church. This national song expressed the complete unity between Romanians and Hungarians in Timisoara, who did not think of what is separating us but only of what unites us: solidarity, fraternity, our common (?strength), and the oppression that subjugated us all.

It has been the greatest honor of my life to have listened to this national song, which I feel is also ours because it unites us.

Thank you very much for this opportunity to address you. On behalf of Hungarians in Romania I can say that we are faithful citizens of a united Romania; that, contrary to what some say, we are not the country's enemies, and neither, as we were accused of being for years and years, are we Hungarian nationalists, chauvinists, irredentists. This is simply not true for we have always tried to be united, to understand each other, and to jointly look to our destiny and future.

I want to say that the Romanians cannot be satisfied and happy if we are not satisfied and happy. Similarly, neither can we find our future alone, without all the citizens of our homeland, without the Romanians.

Thus, our noble interest unites us during these difficult days, which are also full of hope. Our freedom is your freedom; we hope that through you, through the absolute majority of the country, through you and us, we will win our freedom on the basis of a democracy that unites all of Europe within the common home of Europe, where there is room for each nation, and in which borders and boundaries are beginning to lose their importance, because they unite rather than separate us.

Finally, I propose that 23 December be declared in our country as the day of reconciliation, a day for remembering the heroes of Romania. May this day become a national day, a day that is very close to Christmas.

On the occasion of Christmas I would like to wish all Christians in this country and the brothers in prison a Merry Christmas. And I ask the Good Lord to bless us in freedom, in unity, in democracy. May the Lord hear us. Amen.

Assassination of Milea Confirmed

LD2212195689 Budapest MTI in English 1750 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 22 (MTI)—The Hungarian Ministry of Defence has made public the text of the telephone call which Minister of Defence Ferenc Karpati placed on Friday to Lieutenant General Nicolae Eftimescu, first deputy of the Chief of Staff of the Romanian Army.

We carry the full text of the call:

[Karpati] I greet you and would like you to give us information on the situation there, and about what we can do to help, in the form of medicine, bandages, food or anything else that you need.

[Eftimescu] My greetings to Comrade Karpati. What I said two days ago still applies, what I told Comrade Borsits (Chief of Staff of the Hungarian People's Army), and directly Comrade Karpati. You have now seen that we are not attacking you. You could become convinced that we have no kind of negative intentions against you, as was the situation in the past. The friendship between the two armies is stronger than was the friendship between the leaders. And this entitles me to state that the Army is, and shall be capable of fulfilling its tasks in this situation.

[Karpati] We heard that something had happened to Comrade Milea.

[Eftimescu] Milea was assassinated. He was killed because he refused to obey the order to use the Army against the people.

[Karpati] Who is leading the Army?

[Eftimescu] The Ministry of National Defence will be able to carry out the tasks also in the future. We have already issued the order for the Army to not fire against the people. If you wish to help, appeal to the Hungarian people to refrain from provocative stands on their part. The new leadership will be named shortly. The People's Unity Front Committee is closely cooperating with the Army, and the new leadership will probably be named in the late afternoon hours.

[Karpati] Thank you for giving us this information. Please forward my greetings to the other military leaders, who acted in the interest of the Romanian people. If you have any requests at all, either day or night, I shall be awaiting your call. Good-bye.

[Eftimescu] Have confidence in us. Good-bye.

Army Claims Prepared To Revolt Since 1984

LD2712143789 Warsaw PAP in English 1315 GMT 27 Dec 89

[By PAP Special Correspondent Maciej Kuczewski]

[Text] Timisoara, Dec. 27—It follows from talks which I held in garrison headquarters that as early as 1984 the leadership of the Romanian Army began action against the Ceausescu regime and preparations for an uprising. The undertaking is said to have been extremely difficult as all the officers were continously controlled by the Securitate and the whole Army was terrorized.

There were expectations that delegates to the latest party congress would not elect Nicolae Ceausescu general secretary but as the delegates hold, each one of them was under the surveillance of Securitate men.

The same sources confirm that there are or were squads of Palestinians, Syrians, Libyans, Iranians, and Colombians. These soldiers came to Romania under the pretext of studying. It is not known how many of them were and are in Romania, but it is known, for instance, that there are many Libyans among terrorists apprehended in Timisoara. The presence of foreign forces is said to explain the extreme cruelty which occurred, such as killing the wounded, children and shooting at crowds.

According to Army officers, Minister of National Defence Gen. Milea was most probably personally executed by the dictator's brother, Gen. Ilie Ceausescu when the minister refused to sign an order to shoot at demonstrators. When such an order finally appeared, signed by Ilie Ceausescu, the commanders of garrisons unanimously refused to obey it.

AGERPRES Reviews Romanian Free Press

AU2612060389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1804 GMT 25 Dec 89

["Romanian Free Press Review"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 25/12/1989—The dramatic events taking place in Romania these days, after the removal of Ceausescu's dictatorship and the echoes the victory of the popular revolution has striken throughout the world, focus the attention of the newspapers issued on December 25. Starting this day, SCINTEIA POPORULUI (PEOPLE'S SPARK) will appear under the name of ADEVARUL (THE TRUTH), the name of a Romanian newspaper with democratic traditions printed in Bucharest decades ago. This political and social daily, much like the other newspapers, carries the communique of the Council of the Front of National Salvation. The document shows that despite the actions staged by declasse and irresponsible persons faithful to the deposed dictator, the revolution has triumphed. The document addresses the whole people with the call to support the Armed Forces to the end of totally restoring normality and securing a quiet and a normal life. Stating

that the Army is the only one entitled to possess arms, the document asks all those who on these last days have come into the possession of weapons and ammunition, irrespective of the circumstances in which this happened, to hand them back until today, December 25, 5 p.m. Non-compliance with this order is tantamount to a crime against the people. Similarly, the executives of enterprises and institutions, all working people are called to secure protection of their units and the bodies of the new democratic structures to urgently begin the activity of reconstruction.

ADEVARUL and ROMANIA LIBERA (FREE ROMANIA) reproduce letters sent to the Council of the Front of National Salvation by the Ministry of Agriculture, the Central Statistics Department, the members of the Grand National Assembly which voice approval to the Council's programme. The same daily prints the message of adhesion of the Romanian Orthodox Church which reads that "the holy synode confidently steps alongside the whole people being resolved to support with all its force the principles and actions included in the communique to the country issued by the Council of the Front of National Salvation".

Highlighting the determination of the whole Romanian people to preserve and consolidate the victory against the despotism and dictatorship of the Ceausescu clique, the press presents impressive aspects of the fights waged on the previous days in Bucharest and in several towns of Romania against the last bursts of the commando troops. Headlines like "Justice and Light", "Postlude Among Salvos", "We Are No Longer Afraid", "In the Pliers of the People's Wrath", "On Two Barricades" (ADEVARUL- THE TRUTH), "We Have Overcome Our Fear", "Glorious Soldier Virtue", "The Bandits Have a Short Life", "The Annihilation of the Mercenary Gorillas", "The Barricades of the Revolution Firmly Defend Our Work" (ROMANIA LIBERA), "We Are in Full Control", "Souls Under Bullets", "Who Are the Real Fascists?", "Barbarity Against Culture" (TINERETUL LIBER - FREE YOUTH), reflect the confidence in the triumph of the revolution, the stubborness with which the Romanian Army, together with the patriotic guards liquidate the gangs of security men, professional assassins who, desperate to lose the privileges they enjoyed under the dictator, shoot unarmed youth, women and old people, attack cultural institutions, maternity houses, churches and hospitals.

TINERETUL LIBER carries an appeal to the General Staff of the Romanian Armed Forces to order the mobilization of all reserve scouts diversionists, paratroopers, snipers not yet 36, who live in Bucharest to fight in an organized manner, armed against the diversionist gangs. [sentence as received] The aforementioned paper also suggests that the youth that died during the fights against Ceausescu's dictatorship and for rewinning Romania's independence be awarded the title of hero of the nation post mortem, to immortalize their memory.

Under the headline "A Gross Frame-up" ADEVARUL announces that it will publish in its next issue a letter of Priest Tokes Laszlo's lawyer to the editorial board in connection with the decision of the court of law in Timisoara against his client.

All newspapers highlight the measures taken in industrial enterprises and commercial units throughout the country for a proper supply of the population with foodstuffs, for a proper course of productive activities.

ROMANIA LIBERA reproduces the order of the customs general department in connection with the exemption of customs for the import of medicines, medical instruments, and food, as well as in connection with the ban on the export of food.

For the first time in more than 45 years Romania celebrates, with no restriction at all, Christmas on December 25. All dailies publish on the occasion traditional carols, stressing inter alia that "among the many things we must regain and value again is the observance of the ancestral customs, together with the attitude of real respect of the religious beliefs".

In TINERETUL LIBER his beatitude Teoctist, patriarch of Romania, addressses the children and youth in free Romania the traditional Romanian Christmas wishes.

The foreign pages of the dailies are integrally devoted to the international reverberation to the revolutionary events in Romania. Under such generics like "Mankind greets the Romanian people's victory, is solidly with new Romania and supports it" (ROMANIA LIBERA"), "The tyrant has lost the battle against his own people, the whole world greets the great victory of the revolution in Romania" (ADEVARUL), "The world's heart throbs in tune with free Romania's heart" (TINERETUL LIBER - THE FREE YOUTH), are published commentaries and notes, news items and newsgrams covering assessments of the situation in Romania made by Mikhail Gorbachev at the Second Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR; the message of the U.S. President George Bush conveyed to Romania by the U.S. ambassador in Bucharest, declarations of other officials in the USSR, the U.S., Hungary, France, and Norway who recognize the Council of the National Salvation Front in Romania as the only legitimate representative of the Romanian people. The papers report the Soviet-American exchange of views in Moscow on the situation in Romania.

Extensive sections under such headlines as: "A New Page Begins in Romania's Political and Economic Life" (ROMANIA LIBERA), "The Fall Has Surprised Only the Dictator" and "Admiration For the Popular Heroism, Branding of the Killer Gangs' Crimes" (ADEVARUL) comprise reports from Moscow, Belgrade, Berlin, Prague, Warsaw, Sofia, Tokyo, Bangkok, Paris, Reykyavik, Rome, Teheran about the reverberation of the Romanian revolution in the international press, stands taken by governments, parties and political and cultural personalities including writers of Romanian extraction Eugen Ionesco and Emil Cioran. Among other

things, the press reproduces the declaration of the Iranian foreign minister, quoted by the AFP, who showed that "Iran is solidly with the cause of the Romanian people", and stated that during the dictator's recent visit in Teheran, the Iranian authorities told Ceausescu "their discontent in connection with the events in Romania". Other newsgrams report that Libya, Syria and the PLO belied the news about their troops' support to Ceausescu's terrorists. Under the headline "cynical misinformation", ADEVARUl reproduces a report of the TASS corrrespondent in Pyongyang according to which the dailies in the DPR of Korea reported the overthrow of the Ceausescu clique only on December 24, with the ACTC Agency terming "anti-government putsch" the December 17 tragedy in Timisoara. A report from Berne announces that the Swiss authorities decided to block dictator Ceausescu's personal accounts in the Swiss banks. TINERETUL LIBER carries declarations by foreign tourists and foreign press correspondents, witnesses to the events in Bucharest, as well as the note, "A French Journalist Hero in Bucharest" paying homage to young fellow journalist Jean Louis-Calderon killed in action in the Palace Square in Bucharest during the December 22 demonstration.

"Hands of Friendship and Solidarity Outstretched to the Romanian People" (ADEVARUL), "International Aid to Bleeding Romania" (ROMANIA LIBERA), "Moving Instances of Solidarity in Action" (TINERETUL LIBER) are the generic headlines of the sets of information items from Moscow, Sofia, Stockholm, Brussels, Havana, Berlin, Geneva, Prague, Tel Aviv, Paris, Warsaw, Bonn, announcing numerous humanitarian aids given or offered the Romanian people from abroad, from exile Romnians included. In rounding off the sets of news items, under the headline "From the Council of the National Salvation Front", the dailies print the thanks of the new body of political power in Romania addressed to the governments that have sent or offered Romania humanitarian assistance.

Hungarian Red Cross Convoy Attacked; 2 Killed

LD2512180389 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Excerpt] [Announcer] This afternoon reports have reached us that two Red Cross workers have been shot dead on their way into war-torn Romania. (Petter Magnusson) of the Red Cross in Stockholm knows more:

[Magnusson] From a amateur radio we found out a couple of hours ago that a Hungarian Red Cross convoy had been attacked and two Red Cross workers were killed.

[Announcer] In just over an hour a Swedish Red Cross team of four medical people will set off from Stockholm for Bucharest via Geneva. A Norwegian team will join them. Of course there is no full guarantee for their security either.

[Magnusson] These are people who have, so to speak, volunteered for this job, and the International Red Cross tries to do what it can to ensure their safety. In any case, the victims are the important ones here. We have to get the help there.

[Announcer] The first International Red Cross convoy with 33 tonnes of medical equipment has entered Romania from Bulgaria, but how far the convoy has gone is unknown. The loading of different aid shipments around the Romanian border has started. [passage omitted]

Red Cross Teams Head for North, West Romania

AU2612155189 Paris AFP in English 1538 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Geneva, Dec 26 (AFP)—The International Red Cross dispatched mobile teams Tuesday to evaluate food and medical conditions in the worse-hit areas north of Romania and around Timisoara, but downgraded Bucharest's aid needs as relief poured into the Romanian capital.

Bucharest and the surrounding region no longer needed urgent aid after the week-long revolution that left 60,000 people dead and an estimated 300,000 wounded, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said. Sufficient medicine and equipment had already reached the capital.

But in the rest of the country "the situation was confused", it said.

As a result, a Red Cross plane carrying two Swedish and Norwegian surgical teams had left here for Budapest. They were to travel on to Romania to evaluate medical and food needs in the north and the region around the western city of Timisoara, where the uprising began.

Using nine radio-equippped vehicles laid on by West Germany, the team was to report back to a Red Cross control centre set up in the Hungarian capital.

Medical teams are already working in Timisoara, worst-hit by the fighting, and in the cities of Arad, Orada, and the central cities of Cluj, Sibiu and Brasov, the Red Cross said.

ICRC delegates accompanying the teams would monitor for possible problems in the treatment of prisoners and protect them if necessary.

For the moment, Romania most needed clothes, sheets and blankets, the Red Cross said, adding that tinned food was "also welcome".

Earlier, a convoy carrying 30 tonnes of medicine from the British Red Cross arrived in Bucharest. From there, the relief was to be sent to Craiova, 200 kilometers (120 miles) to the west, and Constanta, 150 kilometers (90 miles) to the east.

In West Germany, two West German military planes also left for Bucharest carrying doctors and a vehicle with blood donor and surgical equipment, West German officials said. They were also transporting personnel to reinforce security at the West German Embassy in Romania.

Twenty-five tonnes of West German medicine had arrived Monday in the Romanian capital.

In The Hague, a spokesman for the defense ministry said the Dutch Air Force would make nine flights to ferry 27 tonnes of relief to Bucharest over the next seven days.

Four trucks left earlier from the central Swiss town of Dierikon carrying 27 tonnes of warm clothing and shoes, 1,700 blankets and 10 tonnes of powdered milk and food for Romania, the Swiss Red Cross said.

Poland meanwhile had sent a fourth plane to Bucharest with urgently needed medical equipment, while a vast campaign was underway nationwide to aid Romania, the official news agency PAP said.

Blood transfusion centres had remained open over Christmas to collect blood for the beleaguered Romanians, some 600 doctors and nurses had volunteered to go to Romania, and Polish Health Ministry officials were already in Bucharest with plans to set up a field hospital.

The French organisation Secours Populaire Francais said it would be sending 50 trucks loaded with medical supplies, food, sheets and blankets to Romania this week.

Otopeni International Airport Operating Normally

AU2612234089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1943 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] The International Otopeni Airport, the air gate of Romania's capital city, has seen normal flights lately. Aircrafts carrying emergency aid in medicines for the scores of thousands of victims of the repressive acts committeed by the terrorists of the former regime have steadily [word indistinct]. In an impressive solidarity with the heavily tried Romanian people, Red Cross societies from Europe and other countries of the world, in collaboration with the International Red Cross Committee based in Geneva, collected and sent to Bucharest, blood, plasma, dressings, transfusion apparatus, medicines. As Mr Jean Francois Berger stated to an AGERPRES journalist, 15 planes with the necessary medicines landed in the airport on 25 and 26 December. Worth mentioning among the donors are the Red Cross societies of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Italy, France, Greece, Switzerland, West Germany, East Germany, Cuba, the USSR. The quantity of medicines sums up more than 120 tons.

We have been informed that trucks carrying aids in food, clothing, and other bare necessities for the victims of the repression will also come here from Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, East Germany, and other countries.

Further Reportage on Events in Romania, Reactions

Markovic Congratulates Roman

LD2712073189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council president, sent a telegram of congratulatons with the best wishes to Petre Roman on the occasion of his appointment as president of the interim Romanian Government. The telegram stresses our support for and solidarity with the efforts which the friendly Romanian people, its patriotic and democratic forces invested for comprehensive revival of the country. It also expresses the conviction that Yugoslavia [words indistinct].

Aid Planned

LD2612173889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Timisoara, 26 Dec (TANJUG)—Arms are silent in Timisoara. Politics are gradually starting to return to the scene. The Democratic Committee, which has worked for the past 10 days under virtual war conditions, succeeded in convening its constituting session today.

At the session, the committee was officially constituted as the county National Salvation Council. Names of the members were not made public; it is known that representatives of all religious communities and national minorities living there are taking part in its work. It has also been learned that several places are reserved for Communist Party members. The council, taking everything into consideration, wants in this way to stress its democratic orientation and its wish to resolve problems by exclusively political means. Lorin Furtuna, professor at Timisoara University, is the head of the council.

The news conference, scheduled for today, was postponed until tomorrow. At the conference tomorrow, council members will probably provide domestic and foreign journalists following the situation with more details about the situation in Timisoara.

While the meeting was under way, Adrian Misaras visited the Yugoslav General Consulate to inform our mission about the changes. Misaras met with General Consul Mirko Ataneckovic and talked about Yugoslav aid for Timisoara. It was established where medicines, food, and other aid will be sent; they also talked about Timisoara's other needs. Misaras extended Timisoara's gratitude to Yugoslavia, our general consul, and particularly to Yugoslav journalists, who enabled the truth about events in Romania to reach the world and the Romanian people. The consulate also offered the help of Yugoslav enterprises in rebuilding Timisoara's economy. This should be the beginning of a future economic cooperation between the two countries.

Romanian Officials Receive Envoy

AU2612190889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] First signs have appeared that life in Bucharest is normalizing. People are returning to their everyday duties in the streets and the newly formed government institutions. All important points continue to be protected by tanks. The Army and sporadic gunshots warn that there is still danger to personal safety and the democratic system that is now being constructed.

The newly elected president of the Front for National Salvation, Ion Iliescu and the newly appointed prime minister Petre Roman today received Ilija Djukic, Yugoslav Government envoy and assistant to the federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Bora Denkov, SFRY ambassador to Romania. Dragan Petrovic has a report:

This was the first meeting between foreign representatives and the newly elected president and prime minister, and the first time in Romania that journalists attended all the talks.

Djukic congratulated President Iliescu [title as heard] and Prime Minister Roman on their appointments, which were announced half an hour ago, and wished them all success in their future work. Djukic conveyed greetings and messages from the Yugoslav leadership and government and said that the changes in Romania are being received with exceptional interest and great understanding and support, as an expression of the profound will of the Romanian people. Yugoslavia respects and will always respect the right of the Romanian people to manage their own life.

In the declaration of the National Salvation Front, we have found similarities to the aims that Yugoslavia is working toward. These are democratization, economic reform, and the development of a humane society with full respect for human rights. This creates good foundations for the full range of relations between our countries and peoples to deepen and spread further.

We have carefully ascertained, said Djukic, the stand of the Council of the National Salvation Front concerning respect for the rights of the national minorities which this time too took part in the revolution together with the Romanian people. Djukic conveyed the Yugoslav Government's willingness to fully develop mutual relations in the future and expressed willingness to send further aid. In this respect, he asked for requirements to be specified so that this aid can be as effective as possible.

The president, Ion Iliescu, expressed thanks for the congratulations and messages that were conveyed and stressed that relations with Yugoslavia are one of the priorities of Romanian policy. The Romanian people highly value the support, understanding, and aid that it has received from Yugoslavia.

President Iliescu explained the present situation in Romania and the main tasks facing the council and the

new government. The three most important elements in the stabilization of the total situation are: the further creation of organs of authority at all levels, the liquidation of the remaining terrorists, and the quick operation of the most regular functioning of the economy possible.

The newly elected head of government, Petre Roman, said that the Romanian people had expressed their spontaneous desire for freedom and the newly elected organs of power are an expression of the spontaneous desire of the Romanian people and are temporary until free democratic elections are held.

He said that he values highly the arrival of the Yugoslav envoy. During these events, in the past, and at the present moment, Yugoslavia—where he has many friends and which he knows well—has been a country to be emulated. He knows that Yugoslavia has difficulties and that it is struggling against them, but despite these difficulties it exists and will exist. Romania also has difficulties but despite them, it exists and will exist.

As regards handing down and carrying out the death sentence against Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, Petre Roman said: Ceausescu was getting ready to escape; the people and the Army caught him. His supporters discovered the place where he was being held and the danger arose that he would be rescued. The only possibility of preventing this was an extraordinary trial.

He did not develop the security and protection of his own country. He developed only one foundation: repression over his own people and his own protection. Those forces wanted to set him free. We could not allow this. We also did not want an extraordinary trial, but if a trial had taken place in a regular procedure, skirmishes with his supporters would have lasted longer and bloody clashes and fratricidal war would have lasted longer. We had to do this, concluded the newly elected Romanian prime minister, Petre Roman.

Foreign Office Official in Romania

AU2712113889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Ilija Djukic, assistant to the federal secretary for foreign relations, has arrived in Bucharest from Timisoara. As expected, he will today meet the representatives of the new Romanian Government.

This visit was very important for the Democratic Front, which announced Djukic's arrival at the news conference last night. In addition to confirming that the situation is more or less normalized, this visit is also an opportunity to start first contacts with the neighbor, who should be an important political and economic partner of the Timisoara region.

The situation in the town is otherwise quiet. The citizens of Timisoara are already experiencing the benefits of changes. Radiators in houses are hotter than before and hot water is available almost all day. It is much easier to find bread and other foodstuffs. The city is still lacking medicine and medical materials.

Some shooting was heard last night, but, according to reports the shooting took place during the search for Ceausescu's secret police. The members of the Securitate are frantically trying to flee and save their necks.

Loncar Briefs FEC on Events

LD2712093889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, at today's session briefed the Federal Executive Council [FEC] on developments in neighboring Romania. Loncar also informed FEC members about the content of talks between Ilija Djukic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Ion Iliescu, chairman of the Romanian NSF [National Salvation Front], Petru Roman, president of the interim government, and Constantin Dancea, acting minister for foreign affairs. On that occasion, Djukic extended the full support of the Yugoslav peoples and government for the changes in Romania.

Apart from this, the FEC Secretariat for Information states, the FEC was today briefed about the course of the all-Yugoslav medical relief for the Romanian people. [passage omitted]

Abdic Sentenced to 4 Years in Prison

AU2612185089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] The bench of the Higher Court in Bihac today handed down sentences to the participants in the Agrokomerc affair. Fikret Abdic has been sentenced to 4 years in prison and the other participants in the promissory notes affair have either been acquitted or given punishments ranging from suspended sentences to 2 years in prison.

LCY CC Continues 29th Session

AU2712093089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] About 1 hour ago, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] continued its 29th session. Here is a report from the Sava Center by Konstantin Krajincanic:

[Begin Krajincanic recording] Actually, the session started about 15 minutes ago. The delay was caused by a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, informed the members of the Central Committee about this session.

He said that the Presidium has not received the stands adopted at the recently held 11th congress of the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia concerning the organization of the LC. As is known, Slovenia has launched an

initiative according to which the LC should be a league [savez] of republican parties, that is to say a league of the League of Communists. Pancevski stressed that the Presidium will take a view on these issues and that it expects the Central Committee to do the same. He also stressed that, despite this, one should adopt the proposed documents for the 14th congress.

Otherwise, the members will today continue the discussion on the transformation of the LC started last night. Milomir Minic is currently addressing the session.

Later, the Central Committee will discuss the economic reform and changes in the political system. The opening speakers will be Stanko Radmilovic and Ivica Racan respectively. After that the members of the Central Committee will discuss some other issues concerning the preparations for the 14th congress. The agenda also includes a discussion on the initiative that Ali Sabani, Adem Krasnici, Slobodan Filipovic, and Andjelko Kovacevic be relieved of their membership in the LC.

At present the members are discussing whether to continue the discussion on the transformation of the LC or to start work on adopting the documents.

That is all from the Sava Center for now. [end recording]

Members of LCY Committee in YPA Elected

LD2411161289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-croatian 1352 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—The following are the members of the new League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Committee in the Yugoslavia People's Army [YPA] who have been elected by the delegates of the ninth conference of the LCY organization in the YPA:

Milenko Andjelic (193 votes), Petar Simic (191), Jasna Filipovic (188), Zivota Avramovic (186), Vukota Popovic (183), Bozidar Bozovic (183), Ivan Begovic (179), Marko Negovanovic (179), Marijan Rozic (176), Vukota Dabic (176), Konrad Kolsek (176), Tomislav Perunicic (175), Branko Balj (174), Nebojsa Tica (172), Borislav Milatovic (171), Milan Grujic (170), Goran Petkovic (170), Gojko Krstic (170), Stevan Mitrevski (169), Bozidar Stevanovic (169), Dusan Uzelac (168), Dr Hranislav Jovanovic (168), Anita Ilic (167), Milan Mijalkovski (167), Stojan Maksic (167), Radomir Eremija (167), Nedeljko Djenic (166), Radojlo Janjic (166), Jovan Pavlov (165), Nikola Radovanovic (164), Jovan Jokanovic (163), Aleksandar Samatovic (163), Orcme Petrusevski (162), Kadrija Kadiric (162), Vladimir Gospic (161), Milovan Ristic (159), Milan Ruzinovski (159), Velibor Jovanovic (158), Marijan Cad (157), Jerko Crmaric (157), Krsto Puric (156), Veselin Jakimovski (156), Mirko Bajic (156), Ljubisa Ignjatovic (155), Ljubomir Draganjac (155), Jovan Bjelic (154), Zelimir Djurovic (153), Nikola Sego 9152), Petar Vuga (151), Vladan Sljivic (133). [passage omitted: names of delegates to 14th extraordinary LCY congress]

The following were elected as candidates for membership of the LCY Central Committee:

Blagoje Adzic (202), Petar Simic (200), Stane Brovet (195), Dr Nikola Cubra (193), Ilija Ceranic (182), Andrija Silic (192), Anton Tus (177), Dr Dimitrije Baucal (169), Dr Dusan Zunic (169), Aleksandr Spirkovski (168), Dr Milosav Simic (166), Dr Milan Cusic (165), Vukota Popovic (160).

Macedonian Assembly Appoints New Officials

LD0512213489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serb-Croatian 1428 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Skopje, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—Delegates to the Macedonia Assembly today in Skopje in a secret ballot elected and appointed new officials of the judiciary, of the Social Accountancy Service, Skopje television, and Macedonia's National Bank. This was the first time that the republic's assembly elected and appointed officials to these institutions by using multicandidate lists and a secret ballot.

The following appointments were made: Jordan Arsov—president of the Macedonian Constitutional Court; Marko Bundalevski—the republic's public prosecutor; Tome Nestorov—president of the Macedonian Economic Court; Ilija Boskov—director general of Macedonia Social Accountancy Service; Tihomir Ilievski—director general of Skopje Radio and television; and Tomislav Jagurinovski—deputy governor of Macedonian National Bank.

Report on Macedonian Congress Proceedings

AU0612061689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 89 pp 1, 3

[Report on the 2d day of the Macedonian LC congress in Skopje on 26 November: "The Monopoly of Democracy, Not of the Party"]

[Excerpts] Skopje, 26 Nov—After the speech by Jakov Lazaroski, president of the League of Communists [LC] of Macedonia, at the plenary session (published in yesterday's issue of BORBA), the 10th Macedonian LC congress continued its work in five commissions: the Commission for the Reform of the Economic System (opening speaker was Petar Gosev); the Commission for the Democratic Transformation of the Macedonian LC (Cvetko Veljanovski); the Commission for the Reform of the Political System (Lence Sofronijevska); the Commission for International Relations (Djordji Dimitrovski); and the Commission for Social Activities (Petre Georgijevski). [passage omitted]

The views according to which political pluralism is reduced to and identified with the classical multi party system are unacceptable for the Macedonian LC, Lence Sofronijevska, member of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, said. On the contrary, democracy and the essence of political pluralism's development should be expressed in the richness of various contents

and forms of non-party and party political pluralism which will be of an imminent importance for progress under the appropriate class- social, economic, and political milieu. In the discussion hitherto the dominant thought was that a multi party system cannot be involved in the political organizing of our society as a unified and valid form of political organizing.

The Macedonian LC will strive for those changes in the socioeconomic and political system which will fully provide the national equality to all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities so that they can more effectively realize their common and general interests, Sofronijevska said. The federation should become an effective instrument for the realization of the common and joint interests of all peoples and nationalities, the workers class, and associated labor as a whole. Increasing the responsibility of the republics and provinces in successfully realizing the federation's duties will be of special importance.

Trpe Petkovski said that the harmonization of the republican and federal laws is necessary, but that in reforming the political system one should avoid the principle "one man—one vote."

Stojan Arsovski was of the opinion that we need a deeper analysis of our crisis, and warned that self-management is losing touch with reality. In fact, the ideals of our revolution are unfortunately being thread on by those who have been building the new Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Vasil Kostajcinoski laid a number of sharp criticisms against the work of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium and its president. He said that the work of Presidium was not open to the public, or to the Presidium of the Skopje City Committee presidium of which he was the president. [passage omitted]

A very interesting discussion was held in the Commission for the Democratic Transformation of the Macedonian LC at which Cvetko Veljanovski, member of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, delivered the opening speech.

The 10th congress of the Macedonian LC is held at the time when the further development of socialism in our country and in the LC are at a true crossroads. The deep crisis in the Yugoslav socialism has created the need for a critical reexamination and fundamental renewal of the theory, ideology, and political practice of self- management in socialism. In this sense, the conferences of the Macedonian and Yugoslav LC, not casting any doubt in the basic achievements of the revolution, energetically demanded a reform of the economic and political system, and the democratic transformation of the LC in order to surmount the crisis as soon as possible and democratize the total relations in society.

Aware of the dramatic crisis and of the time ahead, Veljanoski continued, the Macedonian LC has started a process of unsparing self-criticism ridding itself of apologetic rhetorics, the infallibility of its theoretical suppositions, and all social projects of which the LC itself was the author.

Our three reforms are a special answer to the challenges of the crisis and represent an attempt to find again new ways of how to overcome the crisis by discussing ideas about the new concept of socialism, which means the transformation of the LC as a classical party in power into a modern vanguard of a democratic type, that is to say a political force which will lead all progressive socialist forces in implementing reforms.

Delegate Violeta Petkovska was of the opinion that in the future the LC organs should not be permitted to "assess the political and security situation," because this is in the state organs' sphere of competence. [passage omitted]

Faruk Sulejmani dealt with democratic centralism saying that the democratic component of that principle should be strengthened, and that this will contribute toward the LC decisions and stands being sincere views of the bulk of the LC membership. "Our experience shows that before decisions and stands are made, only a small number of LC members—because of their fear from the consequences for expressing their own view—takes part in the discussion." [passage omitted]

"There are views that democratic centralism should be abandoned. I think that we should continue to respect it as the basic general principle of organizing and acting in the LC, but also that this principle should be revitalized, made more modern, so that it can demonstrate the validity of its democratic component," Hranislav Madzoski said. [passage omitted]

People Are Asking the Party to Apologize

The increasingly popular leader of the Macedonian Youth Organization, Risto Ivanov, presented about 20 demands to the Macedonian congress. They aroused great interest in the congress hall and among the journalists.

Ivanov demanded that the Congress apologize to the people, the workers class, and about 140,000 unemployed people in Macedonia for the wrongly conducted policy which has led to such a deep crisis. The congress should not accept the report on the work of LC between two congresses, because in this period, which has been unsuccessful, the party behaved as a party in power, making decisions on all kinds of things, jointly with the state organs. In the new constitution, Ivanov continued, no single sociopolitical organization, including the LC, should be given any priority. The constitution should not contain any restrictions concerning a multi party system. The congress must produce a document which should explain precisely what the phrase "For a richer and better life," which is the motto of this congress, signifies, while the communists should rid themselves of the

belligerent phrases such as "should," "must," "fight," "strive," and openly say what the LC can and what it cannot do.

The congress should produce an elections program for 1990 taking into account the fact that it will have to compete against all other organizations and alliances. During elections for the top posts in state organs, the LC must have only one candidate which will compete against other candidates and their programs of work and development of society.

Ivanov proposed that sociopolitical organizations in work organizations be scrapped, because it has been shown that they were instruments in the management apparatus. Similarly, trade union membership should be voluntary, it should be only for those work organizations and workers who want them. The congress should admit that the system behaved unjustly toward people and that human rights are threatened. Ivanov mentioned the Vevcani case and the suspension of the eight workers of the republican secretariat for internal affairs as an example of this.

Ivanov said that the members of the LC, considering the LC as the hitherto leading organization will be only one among several other political organizations, should only be ordinary electorate. In this sense the congress should strive for the elimination of dogmas from society.

In Ivanov's opinion, the LC has embarked on reforms stressing what it should be itself, rather than what society ought to be, and how the LC should reform itself accordingly. Ivanov said that in the past period the party has waged a battle for power and posts, rather than for socialism, and that this represent the main reason for the system finding itself in a deep crisis. [passage omitted]

Petar Skundric: Sobering Up From Monopoly

The process of sobering up has been very slow. We have been avoiding the truth for a long time. Only under the pressure of the people's dissatisfaction and protests did we decide to implement social reforms whose entire substance should be determined by the 14th congress of the LC of Yugoslavia. The strong wave of the democratization of the LC of Yugoslavia has to a great extent demystified politics in our society and created space for the democratization of all spheres of social life. The majority of people have realized that reforms are the only way out, although economic reforms are still insufficiently resolute and clear, Petar Skundric said greeting the 10th congress of the Macedonian LC on behalf of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Skundric stressed that all members of the LC of Yugoslavia agree that the further development of socialist democracy demands the affirmation of socialist pluralism. He also said the LC members hold the same views on the freedom to express interests and the freedom of citizens to organize and associate with the purpose of realizing their interests.

We have firmly decided against any kind of political monopoly by the LC, because if it becomes a part of political system, and not something above it, the LC will be able to meet the demands of our time, Skundric stressed. [passage omitted]

De-Politization of Army

After the speech by Stojan Asprovski, commander of the territorial defense (who spoke about the achievements of the territorial defense), in the Commission for Sociopolitical System, Toni Popovski (a youth representative) asked for the floor. He said:

What is the most topical thing concerning the Army? It is its de-politization, which comrade Asprovski did not mention at all. What is also topical is the initiative to elect a civilian as the secretary for national defense. The civilian instead of military service is also topical. Please tell me, what kind of political pluralism is it when the military might is in the hands of the political body. Are we, as STUDENTSKI ZBOR writes, not going over the top with this political pluralism? [passage omitted]

Further on Session

LD3011001189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1658 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Skopje, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—The morning plenary sessions on the 3d day of the 10th Macedonian LC Congress passed off in polemical discussions and retorts. Most polemical tones occurred during the adoption of a report on the commission for the reform of the politial system, and the reason was a proposal by delegates of the younger generation for the depoliticisation of the army.

The first plenary session this morning was broken off as soon as it had begun. Delegates requested that before secret and direct voting take place on the candidates for president of the Macedonian LC CC and the secretary of the executive political organs, they be informed about the number of votes they received last night in the secret ballot. After the break, a representative of the electoral commission announced that Petar Gosev, candidate for president of the Macedonian LC CC Presidium, obtained 365 votes and Mihail Danev 336. Of the candidates for secretary, Tito Petkovski received 352, Mirce Tomovski 288, and Todor Cuskarovski 287 votes. [passage omitted]

Colonel-General Stojan Asprovski demanded that the issue of depolitization of the army is mentioned in the report only as being rejected by the majority of congress commission delegates.

Georgiu Arnaudovski, delegate of the LC university conference, explained that the depolitization of the armed forces does not deny their cohesive role and defensive character in Yugoslav society, but that this is an essential issue and that it refers to, above all, depolitization of workplace. How will soldiers be organized in

an army under conditions of political pluralism. Arnaudovski asked, if they have different political convictions. This is not and must not be characterized as an assault on the army, Arnaudovski categorically stated. [passage omitted]

Petar Gosev holds that the issue on depolitization is very sensitive and that it will be raised frequently in the future. He proposed that the term depolitization be deleted from the report and substituted with the issue of operational principle of the LC. [passage omitted]

After opposing discussions, a report by the Commission for a Reform of the Socio-Political System was adopted, but with three voices against, due to the fact that the report did not contain a part regarding the depolitization of the armed forces.

Then, the report on the work of the commission for social activity and culture was adopted without discussion.

When the report by the commission for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia transformation was adopted, the delegates also adopted a proposal that the party membership fee is reduced to one percent of net personal incomes, and that it is uniform throughout the country. This proposal will be sent to the 14th extraordinary LCY congress.

At the end of the morning session, the delegates adopted the report of the commission for international relations.

Since the candidates for Macedonian LC bodies from production did not receive a sufficient number of votes, the congress will vote once more in order to elect another member from this background. Two candidates are on the list.

The program document of the 10th congress "The Macedonian LC in the Struggle for Democratic, Socialistic Development, and a Fuller Life" was adopted this evening at the plenary session, together with a wealth of proposals, suggestions, and even amendments.

The afternoon plenary session continued in the same polemical tone as the morning one. Nevertheless, proposals and amendments made this afternoon were more specific.

Dragoljub Stavrev proposed that the 10th congress addresses progressive forces in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania and that, in the spirit of reforms in the world and Europe, they acknowledge the rights of parts of the Macedonian nation, who live in these countries as national minorities, who are denied their identity and assimilation. [passage omitted]

The plenary session continued late last night. Delegates were informed of the results of voting for the organs of the Macedonian LC and the LCY from Macedonia, and for delegates for the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY. The new Macedonian LC Central Committee has 81 members, the statutory commission 21, and the supervisory commission 9 members. Twenty-one candidates were also elected for membership of the Macedonian LC Central Committee.

In secret and direct voting for president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, delegates at the congress gave preference to Petar Gosev, who received 302 votes and Mihail Danev with 228 votes. This preference for Gosev was also confirmed at the first session of the Macedonian LC Central Committee in its new composition. Petar Gosev was elected as the new president. Forty-six of the 81 members of the Macedonian LC Central Committee voted for him, while 33 members of the Macedonian LC Central Committee voted for Mihail Danev.

Delegates then unanimously approved the changes and addenda to the Macedonian LC statute, as well as the report of the commission for petitions and complaints.

After the break at the last plenary session, Petar Gosev, the newly elected president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, addressed the delegates. Then to the strains of the Internationale, the 10th Macedonian LC Congress ended.

Political Pluralism in Montenegro Viewed

AU0412204489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Nov 89 p 2

[Dragoljub Vukovic report: "The Charm of Pluralist Provocation"]

[Excerpt] The demand for the introduction of a multiparty system voiced by one speaker (whose name the newspapers did not mention) during the famous meeting in Titograd in October of last year sounded like heresy, and yet, now, just over 1 year later, Montenegro will, alongside the official Communist Party, most probably have a democratic party. The qualification "most probably" is a precaution, just in case this party is prevented from registering. This precaution is perhaps not necessary, considering that the democrats intend to operate even without registration.

The rumors about this initiative, which originates from the university, have been current for some time, but the whole thing was only publicly revealed in the main news program about a week ago, during the conversation with one of the leading members of the Organizational Committee, Dr Slobodan Vujosevic, a young professor at the Titograd Institute for Mathematics and Physics.

The founding of a branch of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative was announced in the capital city of Montenegro some time before that. The main initiator is again a man from academic circles, Milan Popovic, assistant at the Law Faculty. Popovic's name is also among the signatories of an initiative (which again

comes from people who work at Veljko Vlahovic University) which, in the form of an appeal, strives for a democratic alternative and opposes the monopoly of one party.

All three initiatives—for the founding of a democratic party, a branch of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, and a democratic alternative—cast doubt, if nothing else, on the view which sees Montenegro only as a stereotyped polarization between the greens and whites [zelenasi i bjelasi], or between supporters of old and new policies. The emergence of new political offshoots may not exert any major influence on the political life in the republic in the near future, but it will certainly make the political landscape more picturesque. [passage omitted]

Loncar Meets With Montenegrin Officials

LD0812140389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Titograd, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—At the invitation of the republican Executive Council, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today paid a working visit to Montenegro. He had talks with the most responsible officials of the republic in Titograd.

The talks stressed the need for a speedier and more comprehensive inclusion of Montenegro in international integrations processes and forms of regional cooperation within the unified principles of the Yugoslav foreign policy.

The talks covered issues of proportional representation of cadres from this republic in Yugoslav diplomatic and consular missions and the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, as well as of making a decision about a status of the Josip Broz Tito Gallery of Art from the nonaligned countries in Titograd in line with the conclusions of the ninth summit of members of this movement.

Federal Secretary Loncar briefed Montenegrin officials about the most topical issues of foreign policy of our country and Yugoslavia's status in the world.

Montenegrin LC Discusses LCY Congress Documents

AU1112185789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] At its marathon session, which is still going on, the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Montenegro discussed the draft documents for the 14th Congress of the LC of Yugoslavia and adopted its stands on the current political situation in the country following the ban on the meeting of truth in Ljubljana.

Tonight, members of the Central Committee are discussing the situation in the Bar LC organization, considering that the Communal Committee of the Bar LC organization almost unanimously rejected the initiative of the republican Presidency and the party leadership to relieve Miljenko Sjekoca of his post as president of the Presidium of the Bar LC Central Committee.